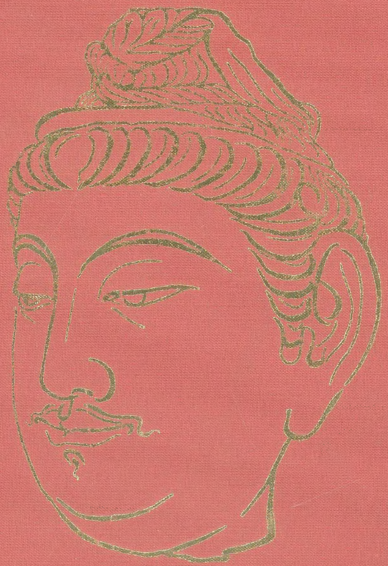


俄藏敦煌藝術品

俄藏敦煌藝術品 I

編　纂
俄羅斯國立艾爾米塔什博物館
上海古籍出版社
出　版
上海古籍出版社
上海瑞金二路272號 郵政編碼 200020 傳真: (86 21)64339287

製　版
上海麗佳分色製版有限公司
印　刷
利豐雅高印刷(深圳)有限公司

開本: 787×1092 1/8　印張 34.5 插頁 4
版次 1997年12月第一版 印次 1997年12月第一次印刷
書號 ISBN 7-5325-2350-0 J.107

Dunhuang Art Relics Collected in Russia I

Participating Institutions
The State Hermitage Museum, Russia
Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House
Publisher
Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House
272, Ruijin Second Road, Shanghai, P. R. China
200020 Fax. (86.21)64339287

Plate maker
Shanghai PICA Colour Separation Co., Ltd.
Printer
Leefung-asco Printers Holdings Limited

8 mo 787×1092
34.5 prited sheets　4 insets
Ferst Edition, December 1997 Ferst Printing December 1997
ISBN 7-5325-2350-0/J.107

俄羅斯國立艾爾米塔什博物館藏

敦煌藝術品

I

俄羅斯國立艾爾米塔什博物館
上海古籍出版社

上海古籍出版社 · 1997

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Памятники искусства из Дуньхуана хранящиеся в Государственном Эрмитаже

I

Государственный Эрмитаж
Шанхайское издательство " Древняя книга "

Шанхайское издательство " Древняя книга "
Шанхай 1997

Наблюдение за изданием
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Dunhuang Art Relics Collected in The State Hermitage Museum of Russia

I

The State Hermitage Museum, Russia
Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House

Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House
Shanghai 1997

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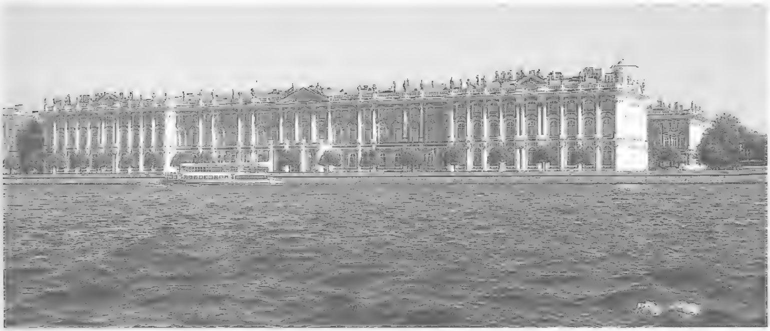
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序 言

孟列夫 Л.Н.Меньшиков



涅瓦河畔的國立艾爾米塔什博物館，又稱"冬宮"。

奧登堡С.Ф.Ольденбург組織和率領的俄國1914—1915年考察隊雖然稱之爲"東突厥斯坦考察隊"，但事實上却是專門被派往敦煌千佛洞即莫高窟去的。考察隊由挑選出的能對古代文化遺存進行全面調查的人員組成。考察隊隊長С.Ф.奧登堡是印度通，佛教專家，諳熟印度藝術和佛教藝術，也是公認的考察中央亞細亞的先驅。他的主要助手杜金С.М.Дудин 是畫家、攝影師，曾參加過包括奧登堡1909—1910年吐魯番及周圍緑洲第一次考察在内的前幾次考察。奧登堡當時已發現了杜金作爲考察人員所具備的技能和熱情。地形測繪師斯米爾諾夫Н.А.Смирнов 也是第一次考察隊的成員。此外，參加本次考察的還有貝肯伯格В.С.Биркенберг 和民族學家龍貝格Б.Ф.Ромберг。現存資料表明，這次考察的主要任務是研究古代藝術遺存，對其進行編目和考定。

然而在這次考察的最後階段，考察隊却因在敦煌搜集到大量寫卷而名聲大振。正是這些寫卷首先吸引了專家的注意。對其進行過研究的有弗魯格К.К.Флуг，以孟列夫爲首的寫卷叙録小組，丘古耶夫斯基Л.И.Чугуевский，佐格拉夫(左義林)И.Т.Зограф，古列維奇И.С.Гуревич，傑米道娃М.И.Демидова，到過聖彼得堡的外國專家鄭振鐸、藤枝晃、山本達郎、潘重規、戴密微 Paul Demiérlle等許多人，幾乎都較早知道了這些寫卷采集品。因此，對保存在聖彼得堡的考察隊資料予以最大限量的公布，就是要記述、研究和出版這些敦煌寫卷。上海古籍出版社和俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所率先着手共同影印出版保存在聖彼得堡的全部敦煌寫卷特藏。現在，前五卷已經問世。

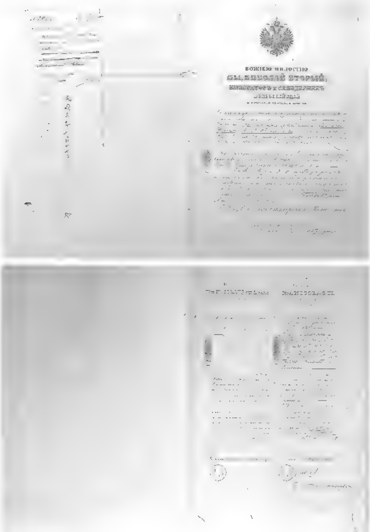
俄國東突厥斯坦考察隊返回聖彼得堡後，他們獲得的資料被分成兩半：寫卷部分被移交亞洲博物館（今俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所）保藏；藝術品、地形測繪資料和民族學資料、野外考察記録和日記被存放在俄羅斯藝術博物館、民族學博物館、地理學會等各博物館。後經幾次搬遷，全部集中到艾爾米塔什博物館收藏，現在就存放在該館。但是，迄今爲止既未出版過完整的搜集品原件，也未出版過目録匯編。加科諾娃Н.В.Дьяконовой，克列切托娃М.Н.Кречетовой，魯多娃（蒲彩林）М.Л.Рудовой 的論文只涉及到個別搜集品，而且文章的篇目也不多。

本書由艾爾米塔什博物館和上海古籍出版社共同編纂，由上海古籍出版社出版。本書出版的目的，是繼寫本出版之後，全部公布奧登堡考察隊的綜合性的資料。爲了指出此書出版對敦煌學的重要意義，需要簡要地談談考察隊的總體計劃和考察方法。

正如奧登堡所言，他不贊成"純粹的陳列目的"，



俄國1914—1915年第二次中亞考察隊隊長奧登堡С.Ф.Ольденбург。



考察隊護照。

即專爲博物館搜集陳列品，那樣常常會破壞古迹的完整性，也常常會破壞個別古迹遺存。針對那種對待古文化遺存的態度，奥登堡在各種形式的學術會議上屢次表示了抗議。他還認爲，對古遺存必須進行綜合性研究，要顧及到它的整體性和所有細節，而不是只注意按研究者的口味而挑選哪個部分。考察隊的工作計劃就是由這兩點爲上而構成的。在奥登堡之前，到過敦煌的外國考察隊有英國的斯坦因M.Aurel Stein、法國的伯希和M.Paul Pelliot、以及日本的大谷光瑞-橘瑞超考察隊。但是，只有伯希和對石窟進行了綜合考察。他的考察隊拍攝了大量照片，臨摹了大量藝術品，測繪了石窟總平面圖，而且首次對石窟加以編號。 此外，伯希和這位當時傑出的漢學家，還抄記了許多與石窟歷史有關的題詞。奥登堡的活動在方法論上同伯希和最接近，他們曾經相識，因此，當伯希和的考察工作一結束，第一批材料還未公布時，奥登堡就立刻知道了伯希和考察隊的成果。上述事實説明，爲什么奥登堡把自己的工作看成是伯希和所做工作的繼續，爲什么他采用了伯希和對石窟的編號。

奥登堡考察隊的活動計劃是非常宏大的：一個不漏地繪製所有洞窟的平面圖 ；對洞窟進行技術描述（形狀、面積）和内容描述（壁畫、塑像、建築細節）；挖掘石窟内的地面，尋找古物；畫出石窟全景；拍攝洞窟内部；對最重要的目標進行覆寫式的勾描（透描）。值得注意的是，這個計劃中没有提出拆割運走壁畫和塑像（這方面其他一些考察隊是毫不客氣的）。 這可不是表面文章。正如我們從艾爾米塔什博物館敦煌收藏品中看到的那樣，奥登堡考察隊搜集的都是一些或因年代久遠而腐朽，或因人爲因素而破壞的藝術品；如果這些資料不被考察隊搜集去，可能會永遠佚失。

考察工作從1914年8月20日到達敦煌之日起，一直繼續到1915年1月26日，共六個月。由于第一次世界大戰的爆發，考察工作爲之中斷，考察隊返回聖彼得堡。但在這短短的時間裏，考察隊完成了大量的工作。

繪製出組成一張總平面圖的所有洞窟的平面圖， 畫下了有石窟入口和窟外建築的懸崖全景。增補了伯希和未查清的幾個洞窟的資料。編寫出了對石窟以及包括色彩統計在内的詳細叙録，——奥登堡打算以此叙録爲依據，區分出繪畫和雕塑的流派，找到斷定年代的根據。這份叙録迄今甚至没有部分公布過，雖然考察記録已被辨認出，并且早在3 0 年代就用打字機打出了供印刷使用的副本。 ——С.Ф.奥登堡于1934年去世，這項工作是由他的 遺 孀 Е.Г. 奥登堡在謝爾巴茨基 Ф. И. Щербатский 院士主持下完成的，這是第一部完整的石窟叙録（ 伯希和雖然留下了筆記和墻上的較多的題記記録，但不是全面的石窟叙録）。第二部是謝稚柳在1943年撰寫的(出版于1957年)，第三部則是70年代由敦煌研究院完成的(1982年出版)。

考察隊隊員們的日記和叙録連在一起，由此可以想到，奥登堡曾經作出規定：考察隊的每一位成員必須記日記，以便日後合并起來進行研究。這些日記迄今只是作爲具體的理由偶然被引用過，但其中有大量的文字還未被解讀。然而，這些日記增補了有關考察隊工作進程和工作環境的許多重要資料。杜金有幾本這類附有人物風情速寫畫的札記。叙録爲造型資料加的插圖，大部分是杜金和貝肯鮑爾所提供的。這首先是大量的照片(黑白照片。彩色照片當時還不流行)，有兩千多張[1]，這也是對洞窟全部壁畫和塑像的實際記録。

杜金畫的石窟内部全景的速寫油畫對照片的不足之處作了補充。多虧這些速寫畫，很容易查明所拍照片在每個具體洞窟中的位置。對最精彩和最重要的目標進行了透描（覆描），據此可以看出壁畫原來的面幅和壁畫上



所顯示的圖像和結構的輪廓，這些從照片上往往看不清楚。在發現壁畫上有冗長的受封稱號的題詞時，他們就手抄下來。抄寫者想必是失名的中國人，這些題詞是用毛筆抄的，而且熟練工整地使用了楷書體。考察隊成員中未必有誰能寫出這樣的漢字，因爲其中沒有一位漢學家。

在挖掘洞窟沙質地面時，有許多重要的發現：寫卷和碎片、錢幣、日常生活用品等。考察隊中的人以他們發現的古代回鶻文木活字爲特別重要。奧登堡院士編的考察隊工作報告初稿未完稿上也有“一百三十件回鶻文木字”的句子。這種活字和中國傳統的雕板印刷方法有根本的區別，而奧登堡考察隊發現的古物是活字印刷的最早的例證。可惜，我們不能知道這些木活字現在保存在什么地方。此類活字照片可見于著名的卡特T.F.Carter撰的《中國印刷發明史》[2]，也可見于俄文《中華》論集КИТАЙ(1940年)中布那可夫Ю.В.Бунакова 的文章。

最後，繪畫和雕塑殘件都是在原處被個別找到的，它們有面臨毀滅的危險。如上所說，奧登堡堅決反對破


менника Шэнь Гуа (в книге «Мэн ци би тань»), изготовлял шрифт глины, обжигая его для прочности, и набирал при печатании в жел ную форму.

Рис. 6. Древнейший деревянный шрифт (уйгурский) XV в.

Однако подвижной шрифт не лучил распространения в Китае эпохи. Для китайского письма, считывающего десятки тысяч отде ных письменных знаков, подвижн шрифт, при незначительных тираж представлял очень громоздкое и рогое предприятие, не говоря у о добавочной проблеме поисков циального красящего вещества. скольку обычная тушь, прекрасно ложащаяся на доску, плохо сма вает металлический шрифт.[1] Поэтому господство ксилографии, ока шейся более простым и выгодным средством первопечатания китайск текста, осталось непоколебленным и после изобретения Би Шэна в чение почти восьми веков.

俄文《中華》論集КИТАЙ(1940年)
布那可夫Ю.В.Бунакова 的文章。

壞古文化遺存的完整性，但他仔細地拾揀了遭到破壞的或從原處脱落的壁畫和塑像的所有殘片——没有别種辦法保存它們。

奧登堡考察隊的主要活動大體如此。所有這些資料正收入本出版物中（寫卷已單獨登載于《俄藏敦煌文獻》專集中），并且完整地加以公布，不删節。問題在于，它們是很有價值的藝術品，對它們的叙録也很有價值，它們還具有歷史意義。奧登堡的叙録和謝稚柳的叙録相隔30年，這30年來，洞窟受到氣壓和氣候的影響，其中許多被破壞了，或者由于一些人爲的因素，如切剥壁畫，拆卸塑像，在顯著位置隨便寫上“某某到此一游”等而消失了。比較奧登堡、謝稚柳和敦煌研究院的三種叙録，可以準確地考定，這期間損壞了什么和損壞前的狀況。

可以確信，絶大部分從未在任何地方公布過的這部敦煌資料新匯編，所受到各國學術界和敦煌學專家們的贊許，不亞于也是奧登堡考察隊搜集的已經出版的幾卷敦煌文獻。

1994年10月5日

王克孝 翻譯

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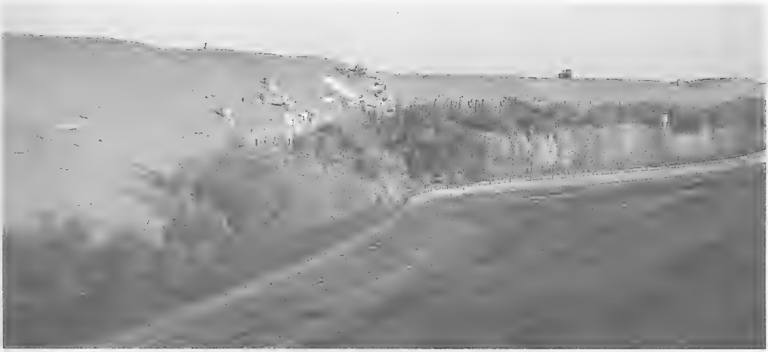
1. 據上海古籍出版社工作小組1993—1994年現場清點，除去重復，總數爲800餘幅。

2. T.F.Carter: *The invention of printing in China and its spread westard* .London. 1925.

原书空白页

序 言

府憲展



歷經滄桑的敦煌莫高窟。

1. 敦煌－絲綢之路上的明珠

地球上最大的陸地是歐亞大陸。在這塊土地上，各個民族之間通過無數次的戰爭與和平、强制和非强制的手段，進行了廣泛的交流，從而各自創建了自己的民族文化，共同發展了歐亞文明。從公元前十世紀周穆王和西王母的傳説開始，中國人的活動範圍已經達到了“昆侖山”（今阿爾泰山）[1] 和錫爾河上游；而在公元前五世紀，希臘歷史學家已經提到了絹類織物或者絲綢；美術史專家考證出不少古希臘雕塑身穿的透體薄衣是家蠶絲製作，說明中國獨有的絲織產品已經傳到了地中海[2]；而西方如希臘、羅馬、波斯和印度對中國的稱呼，幾乎都和絲絹貿易有關[3]。到了漢代，張騫出使西域，作爲一種國家行爲，對歐亞大陸的視野又得到了進一步的拓展；公元三世紀，西方從中國學到了使用馬鐙，從而使綿亘萬里的北方草原，真正成爲以馬匹爲主要交通和軍事工具的人類縱橫馳騁的舞臺[4]。唐代的西域開發和戍防已經達到了中亞，其對西域的交通更是出現了空前繁盛的景象。在長達數千年的歷史中，太平洋西岸和地中海之間的這條國際通道上，駝隊斷續相銜，綠洲歲歲枯榮，以絲綢、寶石、香料等爲主的東西方珍寶在這裏穿梭往來，以至最終被賦予了“絲綢之路”的美麗名字。

廣義的“絲綢之路”是從中國的洛陽或長安出發，主要道路有，出雁北和河套往庫倫（烏蘭巴托），再往西過阿爾泰山到中亞的草原之路；出雲南永昌(今保山)往緬甸和南亞的南方之路；沿南海、東海海岸綫穿過馬六甲海峽往印度、伊朗和埃及亞歷山大港的海上之路；最主要的是“西域之路”——從長安出發，沿河西走廊西進，分列爲三條通道：出河西走廊，穿越天山，沿天山北麓過阿爾泰山往南俄草原地帶的絲路北道；從庫魯克塔格和天山南麓沿塔克拉瑪干大沙漠北緣往西翻越葱嶺的絲路中道；以及沿沙漠南緣阿爾金山和昆侖山北麓西進，然后和中道會聚于喀什的絲路南道。

“西域之路”始終是最爲漫長、也是最多地會聚中國、印度、伊朗、西亞、埃及和希臘－羅馬文化的古道。在其東段，敦煌城雄踞陽關、玉門二關，扼守絲路北、中、南三道，西鎖樓蘭，北連居延，南控青藏，東接河西走廊直至蘭州－長安，“華戎所交，一都會也”[5]，是古代重要的交通樞紐和文化的集散地。

舉世聞名的敦煌莫高窟開窟于四世紀中葉（公元366年），主體建造大約終止于十四世紀，跨越約十個世紀；擁有四百多個洞窟、兩千多身彩塑、四萬五千餘平方米壁畫。莫高窟吸收了印度阿旃陀、犍陀羅、馬土臘和中亞巴米揚，以及希臘－羅馬和波斯薩珊藝術，成爲國際性的藝術聖殿，而最終融入中國化的深厚藝術土壤之

中。莫高窟在隋唐間達到了它的高峰，到明清以后日漸衰敗。但是依賴着干燥的自然條件和遠離塵寰的人文環境，仍然默默地保存着昔日的輝煌。

到了現代，敦煌莫高窟責無旁貸地擔當起了對這條古道及其周邊文化的詮解責任。它用大量獨一無二的石窟建築、雕塑繪畫和寫本訴説着歷史。

清光緒二十六年農歷五月二十六日（公歷1900年6月22日），敦煌莫高窟"藏經洞"被偶然發現。之后，1907年5月，英籍匈牙利人奥略爾·斯坦因賄買24箱文書和5箱繪畫織綉藝術品，1914年再次獲取5箱寫卷；1908年3月，法國保爾·伯希和作爲漢學和東方學專家，獲取了敦煌藏品中最有價值的部分10餘箱6000餘卷；1909年8月，清廷學部發出"行陝甘總督請飭查驗齊千佛洞書籍并造像古碑勿令外人購買"電，而此后繼續有1911年10月日本京都西本願寺大谷光瑞派遣橘瑞超和吉川小一郎，獲取了大量的珍貴寫本和文物；1914年俄羅斯科學院奥登堡考察隊從莫高窟采集和從民間零星收買了萬餘件寫本、藝術品；1923年美國華爾納大肆盗竊塑像、剥取壁畫。從此，敦煌藏經洞的遺書和文物大部散落國外。

本書收集的，就是1914–1915年間，由C.Ф.奥登堡率領的俄國第二次西域（新疆）考察隊在敦煌搜集的全部藝術品和當時采録的全部文字、圖像資料。

2. 俄藏敦煌藝術品來源和考察隊的工作

C.Ф.奥登堡曾經在1909–1910年率領考察隊第一次考察了新疆境内的一些歷史遺迹；第二次西域考察隊的主要任務，"是對中國甘肅省敦煌縣莫高窟（千佛洞）的歷史文物進行綜合描述與研究。'尋覓能確定中國與中國西域（新疆）佛教藝術、古代文物的年代之可靠證據，搜集充分的材料，以分析該藝術不同風格之特點。'"考察隊以發起人、傑出的佛教藝術專家C.Ф.奥登堡爲首，"奥登堡是中央亞細亞和中亞細亞古代史、藝術與民族文化的著名專家，屬當時世界上爲數不多的熟諳中央亞細亞歷史文物與古文獻價值的學者之一。"和他同行的"還有他最親密的助手、曾參加1909–1910年第一次考察的藝術家兼攝影師C.M.杜金[6]、藝術家B.C.貝肯伯格、地形測繪師第一次考察隊成員Н.А.斯米爾諾夫、民族學家龍貝格以及十名助手與一名中國譯員。"考察隊于1914年8月20日到達敦煌，"洞窟的記述工作始于1914年8月24日，終于同年11月25日。……然后開始詳細地研究洞窟裝飾壁畫，進行攝影、覆描、繪畫及其他工作。"關于藝術品和寫本的獲取情況是："C.Ф.奥登堡考察隊在挖掘與清理洞窟垃圾的過程中，除了發現古代藝術品殘片外，還發現了大量的古代寫卷殘卷。C.Ф.



捆載着文物資料的俄國考察隊的駝隊。

奧登堡小心地收集了這些殘片與殘卷。此外，他還成功地從當地民衆那裏，搜集到大量散失的殘卷與將近200件一定程度上還算完整的寫卷。”[7]

根據孟列夫的介紹，“聖彼得堡東方研究分所收藏品大部分由С.Ф.奧登堡院士的1914－1915年俄國西域（新疆）考察隊帶回，1909－1910年吐魯番考察隊亦帶回部分寫卷。此外，尚包括1906－1909年С.Е.馬洛夫于闐考察隊、П.К.科兹洛夫黑水城考察隊帶回的收集品漢文部分以及1909－1910年間俄國駐烏魯木齊總領事Н.Н.克羅特科夫收集的一些寫卷。所有這些部分自上述各考察隊從中亞返回後，業已成爲亞洲博物館（現爲聖彼得堡東方研究分所）的財産。但能説明其入庫情况的文件幾乎没有，而每一位收藏者轉交的寫卷數量亦無確數。”[8]孟列夫所説的是上述各次考察隊所獲的寫卷部分，除此以外的藝術品的流傳途徑，則如魯多娃在本書《序言》中所説，“主要部分是1930年7月和1931年11月從蘇聯科學院彼得大帝民族學博物館收進的。大部分絹畫和紙畫殘件是1977年2月從蘇聯科學院東方研究所列寧格勒分所收進的。”

多年來，俄國的專家對這批材料進行了認真和卓有成效的探索和保護。如果説，在斯坦因、伯希和探險隊之後，在北京中央政府命令將敦煌藏經洞資料全部運京以後，1914年俄國考察隊通過零碎的收集和發掘，得到的大多是殘縑斷璧的話，那么，保護、拼合和研究這些常常由幾十個碎片組成的完整圖像，確實是付出了非常艱巨的勞動，這包括圖像學研究的學術方面和殘片拼綴的技術方面。在第二次世界大戰德國法西斯的圍困中，有些學者甚至餓斃于這批文物面前，其中有最早開始對敦煌文獻編目的К.К.弗魯格。這種熱愛人類文化遺産，特别是中國獨有的文化瑰寶的情感，已經并將會繼續得到人們的尊重和贊嘆。

3. 奥登堡考察隊資料綜述

從北魏到元代的敦煌文物，有着不可比擬的文化價值。相對于今天遺存在莫高窟的材料來説，各國探險隊帶走的文物，大多是無可替代的精品。雖然俄國考察隊所得，有些材料不很完整；但是其圖像學、材料學的含義，仍然可以給專家們不小的驚喜。

奧登堡考察隊在1914年拍攝、測繪、描述的材料，提供了有關文物的背景情况、記録了80多年前的第一手資料；隨着歲月的推移和種種自然的、歷史的因素，這些材料對于探索文物的來源、對于洞窟的研究和保護工作，有着重要的科學意義。完全地發表這些材料，是學術研究的客觀需要，也是遵循了國際學術界包括敦煌學界發表同類考古資料的一貫做法，體現了中俄雙方專家的共同意願。

現將所收各部分材料分别叙述如下。

3.1 莫高窟洞窟叙録

這是考察隊在莫高窟的主體工作，也是俄國學者將奧登堡考察隊與其他“以獲取文物爲主的考察隊”相區别的主要證明。從洞窟筆記資料和其他圖形資料可以了解到，考察隊專業人員力量的組織、深入調查的程度、涉及的範圍和技術的應用，以及最終獲取的成果，都符合當時能够達到的科學研究的規範要求。

奧登堡依次對每個洞窟的叙録，在1938年由其夫人Е.Г.奧登堡等人進行了認真的整理、打印。在打印稿的各個洞窟編號前面，都用鉛筆重新描繪了平面測繪圖。打印稿總數達到1240多頁。奧登堡説：“這份關于千佛洞壁畫與塑像的記述，主要目的在于，從創作的構思和風格的角度，盡可能地把所有壁畫和塑像勾畫出一幅完整的圖畫。”“我們認爲，在可能的範圍内，把我們掌握的全部資料提供給那些没有可能到千佛洞就地進行考察的人們，這對檢驗我們所作的結論是很必要的。應該想到，這份記述，同彩色繪畫、描本、照片和圖案畫一樣，爲指定的目標提供了充分可靠的資料。”“我們正是把描述這些洞窟，并按時代順序對其加以分類整理當成我們自己的任務。當然，由于手頭缺乏對比材料，在確切劃定某些年代上可能會有錯。我們所以確定爲魏、唐、宋、明各朝代，是爲了用一種比較明確的時間概念，指明壁畫和雕塑的過渡形式和風格的連續性。雖然如此，我們仍指望，總體上我們所確定的時間是對的，没有在年代順序方面出現大的誤差。”[9]這種現場直覺帶有非理性的成分，但却是以後不可能再次得到的最重要的依據。也許正如奧登堡當時對此項工作的估計一樣，考察隊對壁畫和雕塑判斷“總體上”是對的，但是會有一些失誤，尤其在八十多年内國際敦煌學研究已經取得了長足的進步以後來看，更是如此。

到目前爲止，已經問世的洞窟叙録有1957年出版的謝稚柳《敦煌藝術叙録》，其長處是有較爲詳細的位置和尺寸的記録，有壁畫題記的資料，兼有内容總録和供養人題記的兩種功能；并且記録了西千佛洞、榆林窟、水峽口的資料，在相當長的一段時間裏都没有新的著録替代；1982年敦煌文物研究所的《敦煌莫高窟内容總録》，和在此基礎上補充修訂的1996年版敦煌研究院《敦煌石窟内容總録》[10]，是敦煌學研究的最新最重要的成果，對于洞窟内容的確定和著録，達到了準確和完備的程度，但是限于體例，不可能對内容進行稍微多一點的描述。伯希和1908年2月至5月所作6卷筆記，記述了伯希和編號1－182號洞窟，在1981－1992年陸續出版，1987年耿升、唐健賓將其譯成漢文本《伯希和敦煌石窟筆記：題記和壁畫》。伯希和筆記進行了“石窟描述、石窟年代和壁畫的考定、題識解釋”[11]工作，達到了相當高級和相對完善的水平；奧登堡的敦煌之行，是在和伯希和交换意見以後的直接的結果，所以奧登堡的洞窟筆記，也一定受到伯希和的影響和提示。奧登堡叙録記述了同樣是伯希和編號的1－171號洞窟的内容，補充了幾個耳洞的材料。除了詳細地描述洞窟情况以外，同時附有

精確的洞窟剖面圖和位置示意，一定程度上補充了伯希和《筆記》、謝稚柳《叙録》和敦煌研究院《總録》的不足。奥登堡叙録是距伯希和筆記6年以後即1914年完成的、但直到現在才首次發表；雖然已經是無可變更的歷史著作，其科學價值却不會隨着時間流逝而磨滅。

3.2 立面圖和平面圖

考察隊以伯希和測繪的石窟平面圖、立面圖作爲工作底圖，在此基礎上記録工作計劃和進程，并對伯希和的測繪圖進行補充修改；作爲具備現代觀念的整體性的考察工作，以及出于更加精確的要求，考察人員逐窟進行了詳細的測繪記録。最後全部單個的洞窟圖被分别拼合繪成長達10米，高約1.6米的總平面圖和總立面圖；因爲莫高窟洞窟大體排列在四個層面，所以這樣的圖共有8卷。面對如此寬闊而細緻入微的畫面，有一種身臨其境的現場感。測繪圖保存了1914年時莫高窟的自然地理的（包括沙丘和懸崖的紋理走勢）和人文的（如洞窟前的建築和匾額文字等）材料。如果把當時的測繪圖和現在的莫高窟面貌做一點粗略的比較，就會發現兩者之間的很大的變化。比如 96窟（北大像窟）外層建築“五層樓”在二十年代的大地震以后崩毁，于1936年修復時已經改成了“九層樓”，這座敦煌莫高窟的標志性的建築，以及其他許多窟前建築，都只能在歷史圖片和當時的測繪圖中找到它的本來面貌了。又比如，本世紀初莫高窟大量洞窟前室崩毁，壁畫佛龕暴露于赤日風塵之中，底層洞窟大多沉埋于流沙朽木之下，這些景象在測繪圖中都有細緻入微的反映，而這一切至今已舊貌不再。所以，即使以今天的眼光來看，這項測繪仍然是一項最爲完全的、最有成效的工作成就。在將近80年滄桑變遷、外部景觀發生巨大變化以後，這項工作的史料價值和實際作用就進一步凸現出來了。

3.3 洞窟内外景照片

考察隊拍攝了洞窟外景和内景的大量照片，按照原先的傳説或者記録（未能找到），其總量應有2000幅。但實際清點結果是，目前保存的包括8英寸和12英寸兩種規格的玻璃底片、三十年代用上述底片曬印的將近全部的照片，剔除重復部分，一共有800餘幅；其中部分照片的底片已經不能找到。另外，用小型相機拍攝的外景照片歸屬在考察隊的旅途照片裏面，不計在内。由于年久流失和自然損壞，雖然實際收藏數量已經有較大幅度的減少，但比較伯希和1920——1924年間發表的六卷本《敦煌千佛洞》300餘幅照片，數量還是相當可觀的。照片的内容包括許多洞窟的周邊環境、前室塌毁后裸露的壁畫、窟前建築、洞窟内景和壁畫雕塑的細部等，全面系統地反映了石窟在本世紀初的歷史面貌。

3.4 影描圖和臨摹圖

對于洞窟内部的壁畫，則主要是由斯米爾諾夫繪製了260餘幅影描圖、120餘幅彩色臨摹圖。還有杜金作了少量油畫速寫。

影描圖，就是將半透明紙覆蓋在壁畫上，影描壁畫的綫條和色彩。其中有些描畫非常精細，表現了良好的理解水平和繪畫水準。這類影描圖經過了概括提煉，又忠實于原作，常常是我們進行圖像、圖形分析的基礎材料；其中有好幾幅是整壁臨摹，再現了壁畫的恢宏氣勢。作爲佛教史專家的奥登堡和作爲畫家、攝影師的杜金，很善于從自己的知識專長中理解和選取畫面，比如元代窟中有不見于“三十三觀音”的特殊圖像“施錢觀音”，就被完整地描繪了下來[12]；影描的主尊像或經變畫常常反映了某一年代作品的布局、風格技法以及圖像的典型特點。



杜金所作的洞窟内景油畫速寫。

限于當時的歷史條件，考察隊不可能使用彩色膠卷來記録五彩斑斕的繪畫和場景，但是，作爲美術考古學家，非常了解壁畫尤其是色彩保護的困難，所以大量的水粉畫和油畫的臨摹圖將爲研究和保護提供接近原始狀況的資料。水粉畫主要用來臨摹壁畫中的圖案，油畫速寫則準確地記録了整窟或整壁的色彩關係。考察隊記載了這些詳盡的形像資料，爲奥登堡進行洞窟年代分析預備了厚實的基礎。。

3.5 洞窟壁畫榜題

奥登堡考察隊抄寫了許多壁畫題記，集中在P.140、P.171等窟。這些窟内的壁畫題記也是伯希和筆記摘録最多的。但好象有一種約定，伯希和着重抄録供養人、靈驗記、世俗題記，甚至各朝各代的“到此一游”等，并且很注重粟特文、回鶻文、于闐文、蒙古文的題記，多次標明“需要拍照”；而奥登堡考察隊的摘録，常常是《維摩詰經變》、《法華經變》、佛傳故事等具有文學性的全套榜題；可能“奥登堡把自己的工作看成是伯希和所做工作的繼續[13]”，只有這樣的理由，才能説明奥登堡的做法是合理的，也因此具備了獨立的價值。如P.167窟，伯希和記“此外還有一條榜題（需要重新看一

下）：毗尼藏主都法律”，没有録完。奥登堡録文爲“……主沙州釋門都法律和尚金光明寺僧××”，補償了伯希和“重新看一下”的願望。又如伯希和和奥登堡都摘録了P.140窟瑞應記的榜題，伯希和録文較奥登堡爲多，但在文字辨識的準確性上則各有優劣，足可相互補充。奥登堡考察隊在摘録經變畫榜題時延請了中國書手抄寫，以避免由于不熟悉漢文引起的誤寫，同時反復進行了核對和校改，力求做得完整、準確。

敦煌研究院編纂的《莫高窟供養人題記》校對了伯希和筆記前二卷的題記録文，因爲有些窟内文字已經不能辨識；而同樣不能辨識的窟内經變畫榜題，有可能從奥登堡考察隊的摘録中找到結論。

3.6 旅途日記和照片

根據П. Е. 斯卡奇科夫的介紹，“考察隊的行進路綫是塔城－奇臺－烏魯木齊－安西－哈密－千佛洞（敦煌莫高窟），然后繞過敦煌，經紅柳園返回哈密。”[14]考察隊爲我們留下了一張并不完整的行程和宿營點的清單，記敘了許多當時通行的地名，有些似乎已經很難找到今天對應的地址。目前保存的有奥登堡和杜金的旅途日記。杜金還畫了許多人物、風光、風俗、古迹的鉛筆和鋼筆速寫。考察隊還在沿途拍攝了大約總共500張照片。這些照片是比較小的35毫米的規格，常常是兩幅相同而略有差异的畫面洗印在一張照片上，實際上是用當時比較先進的立體照相機拍攝的。由于年代久遠，許多照片都已經霉變漫漶，湮没了許多寶貴的歷史鏡頭，但所幸大多數仍然保存了下來。在這次刊載的200多幅旅途照片中，可以看到本世紀初新疆、甘肅沿綫的山川地理生態人文的風貌，特别是反映了當時一些古代遺址的留存情况，比如高昌、交河、莫高窟以及道路、要塞的歷史面貌，對于研究這些地方損毁衰變的軌迹，提供保護修復還原的依據等，都是有積極意義的。照片還真實地再現了考察隊勘測古遺址、裝載運輸文物的場景。

4. 俄藏敦煌藝術品的特點和價值

俄藏敦煌藝術品包括雕塑（含附件）43號，壁畫16號，絹畫59號，麻布畫、幡畫78號，工藝品36號，紙畫24號，殘片49號。因爲綴合，或者總號下包括多個殘片，總數只能估計爲大約300件。

俄藏敦煌藝術品的時代大約在北魏（公元五世紀）到南宋（公元十二世紀）之間。作品演繹了在將近一千年時間裏，東西方文化藝術雙向的啓示和影響，中國漢族、鮮卑、回鶻、吐蕃、党項、蒙古等各民族之間文化的親和與認同，以及外來文化的本土化進程。

俄藏藝術品以佛教題材的作品爲主[15]，雕塑和繪畫有不少出類拔萃的精品，具有較高的圖像學意義；麻布畫、幡畫和紡織印染工藝品具有重要的工藝學價值；所有的藏品既可以同莫高窟現存文物以及散處世界各地的有關藝術品相印證，又具有獨特的審美和釋義的意義。

艾爾米塔什博物館東方部主任魯多娃教授和紡織品專家陸柏教授的前言和叙録已經有了詳細的説明，他們的介紹體現了了以俄國學者爲代表的西方學者的關注焦點，而作爲中國和東方的讀者，一定會有不少相同和不同的注意點。

4.1 雕塑

雕塑作品中，特别是中小型的單身圓雕和半圓雕的弟子、菩薩像，可以典型地表現出從北朝到隋、唐、五代、宋各朝的風格和技法特點。小型泥塑彩繪《大迦葉》、《阿難》和《脅侍菩薩》（Дх4、6、5），高度大約在40cm左右。是晚唐－宋111等窟小型龕裏的脅侍。塑像非常細緻地表現了大迦葉“頭陀第一”和阿難“總持第一”各自所走過的人生道路。一個是忠厚而肅穆的苦修長者，一個是凡塵未盡的翩翩美少年；脅侍菩薩則有着婀娜的身姿和含蓄的情感。其貼近世俗生活、善于發掘内心世界的表現能力，成爲后來諸如山西太原晋祠聖母殿宋代彩塑侍女像等優秀作品的先導。這樣的小型塑像不僅在英、法收集品中未見，即使在莫高窟也極爲稀有。

兩件《護法獸》（Дх1、2）塑像出于莫高窟初唐321窟主龕的兩側。護法獸的塑像和中國傳統的“鎮墓獸”和傳説的“麒麟”有很大的區别，基本上是采用寫實的技法，而没有魏晋隋唐時期同類雕塑中誇大頭部或



者身軀的做法。他們有獅身、犬臉、猪牙、鳥爪距翅，但是没有食草類動物特有的象徵弱小的角。兩件彩塑大體相似，但是諸如鬣毛曲直、口齒張合等細部有不少的變化和差异，使得互相之間顧盼呼應，平添幾分生氣。這兩件作品，造型技法傾向于寫實，而圖像表現趨于理念。孔武悍勇，完整高大，甚爲稀見。作品出于唐代，具備了中原文化的痕迹，但是仍然表現了波斯 西亞獅子類動物的特徵變异。

中唐吐蕃時期影塑《佛像背光》（Дх3）是藍綠色中央對稱圖形。中央上方爲金翅鳥王，兩側有圖案化的龍、羊、白象等。這種圖像在藏傳密教造像中是比較普遍的。但是如此完整精美的影塑裝飾却不多見。這件藝術品也是由多件碎片綴合而成的。經過敦煌研究院專家確認，此件出于莫高窟的北區吐蕃窟。[16]是一件久覓而未得的藝術精品。

4.2 壁畫

俄藏壁畫，最早的大約是北凉和北魏的作品，其中優秀而完整的有：

北魏壁畫《伎樂天》（Дх196），共有6個乾達婆和緊那羅，俗稱天宫伎樂；邊上爲7個千佛，下面爲3個供養比丘的像。神情生動，儀態優雅，是比較濃重的西域風格。此件原出于最典型的北魏263窟前壁龕側，因是從砂土下面發掘出來的，没有受到氧化，色彩斑斕如新。

篇幅廣大的北周壁畫《睒子菩薩經變》(Дх197)，吸收了印度、西域壁畫中以樹木、房舍爲隔斷、表現連續故事中各別情節的的技法，其範本出于秦漢魏晋時期狩獵内容的畫像石和畫像磚，或者如南朝畫像石《竹林七賢圖》的樣式，實際是中國最早的連環畫的雛形。

唐代《阿彌陀佛經變》（Дх192），由兩塊壁畫拼起，有着很美麗的希臘式的花卉裝飾，而寶池壁上的寶相花紋則是典型的唐代裝飾。比丘頭像（Дх188）表現得很有滄桑感，可能是佛的大弟子大迦葉，其形像和“寶勝如來”有所相似，臉部高低明暗表現得極有層次，綫描和暈染結合得純熟自然，對于“單綫平塗”的傳統技法具有挑戰的意義。一小塊殘存壁畫，畫的是碧眼高鼻的外國人（Дх190），旁邊還露出佇立者的一些魚鱗甲。很可能是《涅槃變》中的各國王子舉哀圖，其上指抱拳的手姿表現了當時的禮敬方式。

4.3 絹畫

巨幅絹畫最爲豐富地反映了社會生活的歷史場景。保存較好的有中唐《千臂千鉢文殊師利菩薩像》（Дх205），俗稱“千手托鉢文殊”。經典中有唐不空所譯的《大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經》，圖畫是對經文序分場景的描繪。其周圍的菩薩、天神、龍王、阿修羅等形像生動，色彩明麗。和其他殘存的供養菩薩一樣，都是非常傑出的工筆仕女畫。

在敦煌壁畫和各家收藏中的《彌勒上生經變》和《十六觀》、《未生怨》圖中，反映農耕、收割、居宰等日常生活，有較多的例子。唐絹畫《彌勒上生經變》是由兩個編號（Дх223、Дх224）、三十餘個碎片拼綴而成的巨幅絹本繪畫，表現了《彌勒上生經》叙説的許多内容，如夜叉掃灑、金剛護法等。 非常難得的是保留了基本完整的“婆羅門拆毁七寶幢”場面。“時穰佉王共大臣持此寶臺奉上彌勒，彌勒受已，施諸婆羅門。婆羅門受已，即便毁壞，各共分之。彌勒菩薩見此妙臺須臾無常，知一切法皆亦磨滅。修無常想，出家學道。”相同的題材我們可以在莫高窟盛唐445窟壁畫中找到；但是，這幅絹畫擺脱了經典的理解和通行的選擇，而依據當時敦煌地區的社會生活情况進行了改動，最主要的是把“寶臺”改成了“車子”。整個三層結構的樓房是建築在一輛木結構的大車之上：這可能是在佛教興盛時代舉行盛大慶典時“行像”的一種反映；“行像”從單純的游行佛像，到旌幡傘蓋、到寺廟殿堂載于一車，終于達到了這一民俗活動最爲繁盛的階段。車輛出現還見于《熾盛光佛經變畫》[17]，但車上只有坐具和旌旗，并無建築；所以，對于研究中國盛唐到晚唐間的車制也是重要的材料。

4.4 麻布畫、幡畫

麻布畫包括麻布幛帳、寬幅的一佛二菩薩、繪有供養人的長方形作品，以及有三角幡頭的幡畫。從其形制，可以分别找到它們的各自作用和演變軌迹。幛帳可能是供養時的鋪設，其中鳳凰、鳧雁和童子（Дх73、74）等，描畫得十分生動流暢。寬幅作品，不少帶有供養人全家的畫像。上沿有并列2-3個扣絆，主要用作固定的室内懸挂，后來結合着壁畫的形式，發展成明清的水陸畫；大量的幡畫首先是爲了“行像”而用，一般有比較窄長的幅面，頂部三角形上有一個扣絆作懸挂用；繪製有繁簡精粗之區别，幡尾、幡手等各有增損，在行像隊列中分别列于前導、中心主像和殿后等不同部位，以發揮不同的作用。麻布畫中的題記，由于水漬和折捲，多已掉落，在黑白圖版的紅外綫照片裏可以識别一部分。

4.5 紙畫

紙畫可以分爲獨立的繪畫和佛經卷首畫兩種。艾爾米塔什博物館藏品兩者兼有，而俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所的文獻中有一些卷首畫。《女供養人》（Дх242）一向被認爲是最美麗最典型的五代仕女而“養在深閨（櫃）”。頭髮、衣服的大面積黑色塊面,穿插了豐潤而有戲劇性的臉部描畫，以及表現貴族風範的花叉冠飾，具有端莊而又不失活潑的感染力。原先被認定爲怪獸或者“猫兒題圖”[18]的圖像和伯希和收集品《熾盛光佛圖》[19]四角的圓形獸面圖形十分相似，應爲《熾盛光佛經》中説到的星宿圖像（Дх245）。《熾盛光佛經》主要是鎮遏兵災所用，此件周邊有方框墨綫，不是大幅繪畫的一部分，而是獨立的畫面，可能是當地民俗中避除兵災的“護身符”。相同的樣式還見于西域出土

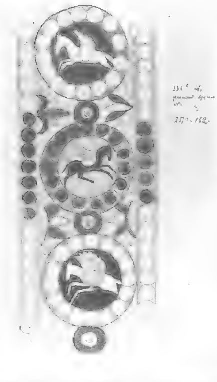
的模印泥瓦當，但没有脖頸下雙蛇纏繞的圖像[20]，其禳灾的功能則是相似的。

《猪臉武士》的紙本繪畫圖像共有2件（Д x 243、244）。前者服裝是粟特樣式的軍服，持劍；而后者是中國的民間服裝，持斧。和外金剛部二十天之一的金剛面天猪頭人身、持三股鉤不同，可能是經過了中國化的改造。兩件圖像的不同風格形成很强烈的對比。

4.6 紡織印染工藝品

俄藏紡織印染品中有豐富的品類和技法。類别主要有絹、綺、綾、紗、綢、織錦、織帶、布、麻布等，繪染技法有單色浸染、纈染（包括絞纈、夾纈、蠟纈和灰纈）、印花、套色印花、單色綫描、泥銀繪、彩繪、刺綉、縫制等。

從高加索到中亞流行的織錦圖紋，除了有從漢代已經傳播的中國風格的圖紋以外，還有波斯風格和粟特的仿波斯風格，而仿波斯風格中又有布哈拉和花剌子模兩種。其中以中亞兩河流域的布哈拉的一個村莊贊丹尼納出産的“贊丹尼奇”爲代表。俄藏敦煌藝術品中也有贊丹尼奇織錦圖案樣式的絲綢纈染物，雖然它們不是織錦，而只是在印染中采取了中亞－波斯織錦的圖紋樣式。《花樹雙鹿聯珠紋幡頭》（Д x 55）畫面較寬大，采用木板拓印的方法，圖紋具有明顯的剪紙技法痕迹。多色印染《牡丹聯珠紋幡頭》（Д x 51），可以和吐魯番出土的聯珠對翼馬樹紋錦、花樹對鹿錦、英國博物館藏敦煌出聯珠對翼獅子紋錦Chxlviii和聯珠對羊紋錦Ch.009相互印證[21]。幡頭扣絆（Д x 288）的花卉鳧雁圖紋，是唐代波斯紋織錦的一個稀見品種。



考察隊臨摹的伊朗薩珊風格的飛馬聯珠紋圖案。

關于纈染技法，一直是工藝美術史的研究熱點。俄藏幡幢和麻布中，有許多纈染的材料，包括了纈染中夾纈、絞纈、蠟纈、灰纈的全部技法，工藝特性鮮明，數量衆多。夾纈幡面（Д x 107、125等）經過多層折叠成正三角形，然后用木板夾住一條底邊，經過浸染，木板夾住部分因爲防染就留下了的原來底色，展開后成爲菱形網格圖案。在底色圖紋交叉（也就是折邊）的地方，留下了“十”字色紋，就是夾纈工藝的確證。過去一般認爲，夾纈技法多用在比較細薄的材料上，敦煌粗麻布幡幢作夾纈，爲這一領域的研究提供了新的材料。不少工藝品還采用了復合的、多樣化的技法，比如先作夾纈，然后在防染留空的位置再施以凸版印染（Д x 4 2 、49、167）或者凸版捺印（Д x 286a、b，特别是b件下部有折邊展開后圖案重叠交叉的部位）的技法。《菱格花卉紋幡》（Д x 5 2 ）記録了一種比較高級的夾纈印染技法，褐色菱格分界綫留下了不均匀的水暈效果，證明夾纈木板確實采用挖槽和打孔來輸導染料，并且在防染部位采用了多次套色的複雜工藝；絞纈技法也有體現 Д x 110粗麻布幡面經過折叠，没有采用上述木板夾纈方法，而是留出一邊作局部浸染，形成不規則的原色菱格圖紋，似乎是當時爲應付急用而快速草成的“急就章”。由于蜂蠟較難得到，蠟纈工藝在西北不很流行，但在敦煌藏品中仍有兩件較大的斜格菱形十字花紋絹出現（Д x 222a.b.），和斯坦因收集品相同。和蠟纈相似，灰纈技法是用模板在面料上印刷防染的灰漿，然后染色，水洗后形成色地白花的圖案[22]。《藍地白菊花紋幡》（Д x 56等）、《藍地白菊花紋幡帶》（Д x 171），很好地表現出了這種工藝特徵。

不少在藍色絹上用銀泥鐵綫描畫出的觀音和其他菩薩的像，今已氧化成墨色，然而用銀泥繪圖可以從文獻中找到證明。[23]在絲織品中，有各種織紋的綾，其中陸柏先生發現的葉狀紋綾，爲斯坦因、伯希和和其他各家收集品的缺項。一件刺綉殘片（Д x 330），其材質、技法和現定爲克列緬茨吐魯番收集品中的《柳枝觀音像》相似，但是不能綴合。刺綉針法是用“辮子綉”鎖邊，色塊部分是以同一根絲綫穿過面料再向前翻滚，每次從面料下面穿上來時都從前一針的綫的中間穿過。這樣的綉法就要比“辮子綉”細巧得多。借此機會首次以彩圖形式發表的這件《柳枝觀音像》，浸潤了西方聖母像的形象、動作、服飾的特點，如果不是額前的阿彌陀佛化佛，幾乎難以認定爲觀音造像。如果説，蜕變于希臘神話中的太陽神“阿波羅”，在東漢時期以犍陀羅佛像形式傳入中國，代表了佛教向中國傳播的第一次浪潮；那么唐－五代時期東方救世主“觀音”借助了西方拜占廷式“聖母”的新樣，則標志了西域和絲路沿綫各民族文化的生生不息的交流；毫無疑義，這是體現東西方文化交融的最重要的藝術精品之一。

4.7 殘片

這次公布的是全部敦煌藝術品，在這個概念之下，當然包括一些圖像和材質殘損比較嚴重的原件。這些材料既可對缺損較少的圖像繼續綴合，也可對其他各家的藏品有所補益，故也一并刊出。可以引起注意的有，已經確定爲吐魯番壁畫的小件殘片《動物圖》（Д x 363）在極其狹小的幅面上繪製了精美而密集的花叢和小鹿。作爲以大場面大效果爲特點的壁畫爲什么會有如此細小的描繪，實在不可思議；壁畫殘片《武士像》（Д x 190）則繪製了碧眼隆準的外國武士的形象，可能是各國王子舉哀圖的一部分；在紙本殘片的組合中，有古籍史書的一些內容；有“尚書武部使回之印”的印戳二枚（Д x 146），可能是從來没有發現過的明代官印；壁畫

藍綠色卷草牡丹紋碎片（Дх191）則正好和盛唐佛弟子像（Дх188）身旁的頭光綴合。其他特別的圖像還有絹畫“燒水圖”（Дх262）、絹畫降魔變“風吹魔女”（Дх321）等。事實上有些十分細小的殘片會受到奧登堡考察隊的注意，是有其自身值得重視的理由的。

艾爾米塔什博物館的敦煌收藏品，有相當多的一部分和斯坦因、伯希和的收集品相同或者相近，三者之間可以相互比對、印證，甚至可以互相拼接和補充。我們發現兩件絹畫《蓮花座》（Дх168、266），可以和斯坦因收集品中藏于印度德里博物館的《千手千眼觀音圖》[24]相接，是圖中火頭金剛和辟毒金剛的兩個蓮臺和下緣邊飾，從而使相隔萬里之遥的三件藏品可以重新綴合成爲比較完整的圖像，也爲這兩件具有明暗畫法的殘片找到了確定年代的依據。許多幡畫、幡頭，可以匯合英國、法國等地的藏品排列成比較完善的系統；其特別的様式，比如雙面幡頭、染纈幡頭和裝潢形式，亦可填補目前所見的短缺。通過比對，有些編號則可以相互綴合，關于這方面的研究成果都將在叙録中説明。

5. 俄藏敦煌藝術品出版過程和編纂原則

5.1 出版過程

早在1989年，當時的上海古籍出版社社長魏同賢、總編輯錢伯城、副總編輯李國章和主任李偉國一行，應邀訪問蘇聯科學院東方研究所列寧格勒分所，即后來的俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所，開始合作編輯出版《俄藏敦煌文獻》；同時，對艾爾米塔什博物館的中國新疆、敦煌和黑水城藝術品進行了詳細的考察。1991年的嚴冬，在經過長時間的材料調查和觀摩以後，在列寧格勒工作的上海古籍出版社敦煌小組被授權同艾爾米塔什博物館館長彼奥特羅夫斯基就出版《俄藏敦煌藝術品》進行了會談，確定了出版意向，初步討論了雙方工作人員的組成、編纂設想和實施方案，以及粗略而必要的協議條文。此后通過書信往還，使這項合作的細節進一步明確；在1993年夏天，上海古籍出版社副社長李偉國飛抵聖彼得堡，同艾爾米塔什博物館維林巴赫夫副館長進行了爲期一周的緊張談判，簽署了出版協議。以後，在俄工作的府憲展、蔣維崧、嚴克勤依靠俄方主編孟列夫、副主編魯多娃和丘古耶夫斯基，以及攝影師特列本寧（瓦洛佳）和復制部諸位女士先生的幫助，會同特約編輯、中國留學生張惠明小姐，通過幾個月的努力，順利完成了俄藏敦煌藝術品主體資料的拍攝和復製工作。在1994年、1996年的赴俄工作中，則對經過王克孝、季一坤先生翻譯的藝術品叙録等漢文材料進行全面的核對，改寫和補寫了一些内容，同時對遺缺資料進行了補充。1995年敦煌研究院院長段文傑先生率隊訪問聖彼得堡，對館藏敦煌藝術品的研究和定義提出了精闢的見解；同年敦煌研究院副院長樊錦詩女士在上海查閱了全部《俄藏敦煌藝術品》的照片和考察隊的大部分資料，進行了具體的指導。經過各方多年的努力，本書的編輯出版工作基本準備就緒。

5.2 材料甄別

如前文所説，所稱“1914年奧登堡考察隊敦煌特藏”，由于來源的複雜情況和缺少必要的原始記録，對某些材料的定性、定量的工作就有一些困難。

作爲“敦煌藝術品”的概念，本書的收録範圍是以現有資料爲依據的。有些藏品不能確定具體的洞窟來源和年代，但是可以判定爲莫高窟千佛洞所出。這些圖像有泥塑彩繪的頭像雕塑，最早始于北凉或者北魏：如兩件苦修佛像頭部（Дх323、Дх324），可以同甘肅金塔寺東窟北凉彩塑釋迦牟尼苦修像比定。這是早期佛教盛行小乘禪法的産物。又，原存吐魯番藏品中的幾件頭像雕塑（Дх351-356），權威學者加科諾娃博士最終仍認爲是敦煌藏品。由于加科諾娃在1996年不幸逝世，没有能够提供足够的依據，在此也一并收入，以便參照。

有些材料可能并非出于敦煌，但也不能證實是其他地區（比如新疆或者黑水城）收集品，我們仍然只能把它作爲敦煌材料收入，只是在叙録中提出疑問，以提示專家進行深入的研究；其中有些值得懷疑的材料，常常也是比較重要的。比如紙本彩繪一佛二供養（男女）二僧人（X2486），原先的編號“X”爲黑水城文物“Xapa-хото”系列的代號。但是其中女子的髮飾，是敦煌地區五代時期典型的花叉冠様式，和黑水城繪畫中主要的西夏風格、吐魯番文物中的西域風格不同。這件繪畫左緣還殘留着文字的筆畫，可能是佛經經卷的卷首畫，這也是敦煌文獻的常用形式；而黑水城文獻的佛經卷首畫以刻本爲多，没有這種類型。關于這件藝術品的圖像解説，有人認爲是一佛二供養二僧人，即供養比丘和比丘尼。從佛家義理而言，比丘尼尚未修成男身，没有項光和身光，似乎和畫面相似；但是，畫中形像完全是俗家打扮，這是十分罕見的。女主人似乎更像壁畫中經常出現的供養人形像，或者是絹畫或麻布畫“引路觀音圖”中的被超度的貴族公主。關于這幅特异的圖畫，還可以更加深入地研究。

分别收藏于俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所的文獻部分和艾爾米塔什博物館的藝術品部分中，還有少量的交叉，這些交叉部分定義爲“文獻”或者“藝術品”顯然不完全符合事實。所以，我們將東方所敦煌文獻特藏中具有圖像學價值的繪畫和工藝品殘片同時刊出，并在叙録中説明。其中東方所的佛經卷首畫和菱形紋緯絲絹（Дх9433）是很值得注意的。東方所敦煌文獻特藏中收集了不少早期的版畫，大多可以和科兹洛夫考察隊所獲黑水城西夏材料比定，因此不予收入。順便説明：俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所和國立艾爾米塔什博物館，對各自收藏的敦煌寫本和敦煌藝術品，都以“敦煌”的俄文縮寫“Дх”編號，但是兩者序號没有關聯。本書所收東方所少量藝術品的編號都在Дх1000號以后，可以和艾爾米塔什的藏品序列區分；當然叙録中也會有特别的説明。

應當注意的是，“敦煌藝術品”不能等同于“藏經洞藝術品”，不能以藏經洞封閉的時候即十一世紀前半紀作爲俄藏藝術品的下限。俄藏藝術品的主要來源是藏經洞，同時也有其他洞窟的材料，特別有從民間分散收集的材料。這就會有某些較爲晚期的材料被誤認作宋代以前材料的可能。”

5.3 編纂體例

關于本書的編纂體例，我們參照了國際上的同類出版物，特別是日本講談社的《西域美術》，同時根據俄藏敦煌藝術品的實際情况有所變化。一般來説，文物圖集編輯的理想方法是以原始所在的洞窟位置爲依據，可以有確定的時間和地點的定位座標。但是，俄藏敦煌藝術品大多不能找到這種原始的記録。有些判斷則是來自後來的比對。這和奥登堡考察隊獲取敦煌文物的事實，是在繼斯坦因、伯希和和大谷光瑞探險隊到達敦煌，以及在中國中央政府督令甘肅當局把藏經洞文物悉數運回北京之後的特別情況有關。在這樣的客觀條件下，奥登堡考察隊所獲，有不少是取自莫高窟洞窟内，更多的是已經分散在當地民間的藏品，這樣就無法做到按照所出洞窟來排列。

本書全部藝術品，基本是以藝術樣式和材質爲主要分類依據，類目設立則以“多則詳之，少則略之”的原則確定。按照藝術樣式，從立體的雕塑到平面繪畫爲序。雕塑作品以圓雕、主體性浮雕、模印小型佛像和雕塑附件（如密教尊像的骷髏項鏈）爲順序，繪畫作品以材質分爲壁畫、絹本畫（包括絹本經變畫和類似的大幅作品，以及絹本幡畫）、麻布畫（包括麻布幢帳和寬幅麻布畫）、麻布幡畫（首先是有幡面的比較完整的全幡，然后是幡頭；如果可以相互比對，則幡頭和幡面相互穿插出現）、紡織印染工藝品（一般説來，這些絲綢、印染物大多是絹本畫、幡畫的材料或者脱落的幡帶等，但是因爲不再能找到和母體的關係，并且因爲這些材料的特异性，已經具備了作爲紡織、印染、刺綉、縫製工藝等獨立的、獨特的研究價值）、紙畫、殘片。在每個類別中，大體按照時代爲順序：做法上是以有來源記録、從而可以推斷年代的藏品爲基礎，然后通過類型比較，穿插没有可靠年代資料但是類型相近的，最后排列暫時不能考出年代的以及殘損較多的材料。

這樣的分類顯然是有缺點的。在藝術分類中，材質和功用、圖像兼顧，必然會造成多元化的矛盾。比如紙畫中的有些材料，原來是幡畫的一部分；絹本畫中，也有一些更加接近麻布幡畫的形式；紡織印染工藝品的原型大多數也是幡畫的部件。在這種情况下，我們只能較多地注意到對象的主要方面，或者是研究者對它的主要興趣所在和類比檢索的方便。换一個角度來説，二者兼顧的方法也是符合敦煌藝術品實際情况的，敦煌的東西本來就是這樣。這樣的做法有利于讀者的尋找，也不至于束縛讀者的聯想。與之相反，也許正好可以從它們的交义點上，發現一些問題，比如幡畫的材質變化是不是從色絹、畫絹走向麻布，或者同時并存；絹本幡畫和麻布幡畫各自有些什么不同的特點；各種材質各自適應于什么形式以表現什么樣的題材，等等。

雖然從1914年以來，俄國學者進行了非常的努力，但是由于材料本身的複雜性，以及幾乎封閉的（以致在相當長的時期内國際學術界鮮有人知）外部環境，使得研究和修復還存在着一些缺陷。有的圖像還没有得到滿意的詮釋，許多殘件的拼接還有遺缺和錯誤。要改正這些錯位或錯拼，不是短期内可以任意解决的。這次出版的時候，我們根據中俄雙方最終的研究成果，利用計算機技術，對新發現的可以拼接的殘件予以綴合；對一些錯拼之處進行修正；修正僅僅限制在原有圖版中進行移動，决不做圖像的潤飾和填補。原修復時爲保持展覽時視覺的完整性，做了一些填色和接筆，一般都注意不干擾原作的原貌，但也存在一些容易産生誤解歧義的地方，則不作改正。

關于圖版説明和叙録中的符號約定，奥登堡采用的伯希和的洞窟編號，我們用“Ｐ．”表示，敦煌研究院的編號則用“Ｄ．”表示；藝術品的財産編號，“Дх”表示爲敦煌文物，“Тy”爲吐魯番文物，“Х”爲黑水城文物。

6. 結語

《俄藏敦煌藝術品》是在繼《俄藏敦煌文獻》（1992年開始出版）、《俄藏黑水城文獻》（1996年開始出版）之后，上海古籍出版社和俄羅斯國家科研機構的又一個重大合作項目。中、俄雙方的研究人員和出版者進行了大量的學術性和技術性的工作。許多環節的工作者默默無聞但又是异常艱辛地進行了創造性的勞動。在本書出版的時候，我們謹對所有爲此作出努力的、相識和不相識的朋友們，表示衷心的感謝。

在即將進入21世紀的時候，中國漫漫沙漠中的敦煌莫高窟，將要迎來它的著名的“藏經洞”被發現100周年紀念日。我們謹此獻上這部厚重的資料集，告慰孕育了偉大敦煌藝術的山河大地。

一九九七年八月十八日

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1 馬雍、王炳華《阿爾泰山與歐亞草原絲綢之路》，載《草原絲綢之路與中亞文明》第3頁，新疆美術攝影出版社，1994年11月。

2 戴禾、張英莉《先漢時期的歐亞草原絲路》，書名同注1，第9頁。

3 沈福偉《中西文化流史》，第一章第四節，《支那名稱的由來》，波斯人稱中國爲 Čini、Saini，粟特語稱 Cyn，印度人稱“支那”Cina、Cin，希臘稱 Seres 等，都是絹、綺、絲織物的轉音。上海人民出版社，1985年。

4 張增祺《我國最早的馬鐙是云南少數民族發明的》，載《云南民族學院學報（社會科學版）》，1997年第2期。文中例舉云南晋寧石寨山12號墓出土的貯貝器上騎馬俑已有圈式馬鐙，其年代爲西

漢中期；另有江川李家山青銅器上板式馬鐙，時間爲西漢後期。文章説明，因爲山地騎馬的需要，雲南發明馬鐙比世所公認的世界最早的長沙西晋永寧二年（公元302年）古墓出土陶馬的馬鐙早400多年。

5 《後漢書·郡國五》"敦煌郡"注。

6 關于杜金的情况，我們還可以知道：他曾經參加B.B.拉德洛夫的鄂爾渾考察隊，1893年隨同B.B.巴爾托里德進行中亞科學旅行，獨立完成了去楚河谷地和伊塞克湖周圍地方的考察，作了詳細的記録。B.B.巴爾托里德的旅行報告中，"詳情主要采用C.M.杜金先生的報告"。參見B.B.巴爾托里德《中亞科學旅行報告（1893 1894年）》，載于《外國探險家西域游記》，新疆美術攝影出版社，1994年9月。杜金還在1909年6月參加C·Φ·奥登堡帶領的第一次中國新疆考察隊，在喀什噶爾、吐魯番等地拍攝了近8000張照片。參見同書《外國探險家在新疆紀年》。

7 其構成爲：艾爾米塔什博物館藏敦煌雕塑、壁畫、絹畫、幡畫等350餘編號，其中有些已經拼合，還有從其他收藏中抽回的個别材料；俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌漢文材料爲Φ001－366號，加上孟列夫于1996年9月補充編入的Φ367《一切經音義》和Φ368《一切經音義卷第八》，以及Дх00001－Дх19020號，其中應當扣除大約50－100件吐魯番或黑水城文獻。

8 孟列夫《俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌文獻》，載《中華文史論叢》第五十輯第7頁，上海古籍出版社，1992年12月。

9 楊自福《鄂登堡來華考察日記摘譯》，載《敦煌學輯刊》，1994年第1期，1994年6月。根據季羡林先生的意見，對此段譯文作了改動。

10 謝稚柳《敦煌藝術叙録》，古典文學出版社，1957年初版，上海。上海古籍出版社，1996年重版，增加徐自强編敦煌研究院、張大千、史岩、伯希和《莫高窟洞窟窟號對照表》四種。

敦煌文物研究所《敦煌莫高窟内容總録》，文物出版社，1982年11月。

敦煌研究院《敦煌石窟内容總録》，文物出版社，1996年12月。由敦煌研究院據1982年《總録》修訂，莫高窟叙録增加伯希和編號，内容有較大改動，增加榆林窟、東千佛洞、五個廟的洞窟叙録和修訂説明、十年來新材料的補充和附録等。

11 耿升、唐健賓譯《伯希和敦煌石窟筆記：題記和壁畫》，莫尼克·瑪雅爾Monique Maillard《前言》，第2頁。甘肅人民出版社，1993年4月。

12 《中國石窟·敦煌莫高窟》第五卷，圖174，元代第3窟東壁北側觀音菩薩。

13 本書孟列夫《序言》。

14 此處地名順序顯然有錯，似無理由到達安西以后再繞道哈密去敦煌千佛洞。見Π.Ε.斯卡奇科夫：《1914–1915年俄國西域（新疆）考察隊記》，載《中華文史論叢》第五十輯，上海古籍出版社，1992年12月。

15 佛教美術作品在中世紀的意義遠遠超出了宗教的範圍，而具有一般社會文化的代表作用；而其材料、工藝、圖像等特徵，則往往和所表現的對象無關。陸柏先生在本書關于紡織品的序言中有精到的論述。

16 彭金章《莫高窟北區洞窟發掘的主要收獲》"禮佛窟，除461－465吐蕃窟以外，還有3個，有壁畫或塑像，背光可能在俄國。"《1994年敦煌學國際學術研討會》發言，敦煌莫高窟，1994年8月。

17 《敦煌石窟藝術·莫高窟第61窟》，圖165，江蘇美術出版社，1995年。

段文傑《敦煌藝術論文集》圖67，五代第61窟壁畫，甘肅人民出版社，1994年6月。

《法藏敦煌西域文獻》第一卷，彩圖P.3995《紙本彩繪熾盛光佛》，上海古籍出版社，1995年10月。

18 柴劍虹《俄藏敦煌詩詞寫卷經眼録（一）》6.猫兒題詩，載《敦煌吐魯番研究》第一卷101頁，1995年，北京大學出版社。

19 《法藏敦煌西域文獻》第一卷彩圖P.3995《紙本彩繪熾盛光佛》，上海古籍出版社，1995年10月。

20 《シルクロード大美術展1996》，圖88.鬼神面。ペリオ探檢隊，1906 1909年。

21 姜伯勤《敦煌吐魯番與絲綢之路上的粟特人》，載《東西交涉》1986年2、3、4期，東京，井草出版社。又《敦煌吐魯番文書和絲綢之路》第五章，文物出版社，1994年2月。

22 武敏《吐魯番出土絲織物中的唐代印染》，《文物》，1973年第10期。

23 敦煌遺書P.3149《造幡銀泥畫彩》"造幡九口，銀寶所成；製額一條，彩珍化出者。"

24 Sir Aurel Stein. *SERINDIA*. Vol.IV, PIATES LXIV. chxxvii 006, *The Thousand Buddhas*, 1921. OXFORD.

25 在和文物同樣來源的敦煌文獻部分中，敦煌學界已經甄别出了一些北凉吐魯番文獻和元代黑水城文獻甚至明清時期的材料。見Л. Н. Меньшиков *ОПИСАНИЕ КИТАЙСКИХ РУКОПИСЕЙ ДУНЬХУАНСКОГО ФОНДА ИНСТИТУТА НАРОДОВ АЗИИ* выпуск 1－2. Москва 1963 1967.

方廣錩《俄藏<大乘入藏録上>研究》，《北京圖書館館刊》1992年第1期。

榮新江《俄藏敦煌文獻第1－5册書評》，《敦煌吐魯番研究》第一卷，1996年，北京大學出版社。

府憲展《敦煌文獻辯异録》，載《敦煌研究》1996年第2期。

序 言

魯多娃 М.Л.Рудова

國立艾爾米塔什博物館東方部的敦煌收藏品，主要部分是1930年7月和1931年11月從蘇聯科學院彼得大帝人類學和民族學博物館收進的。大部分絹畫和紙畫是1977年2月從蘇聯科學院東方研究所列寧格勒分所收進的。

目前登入本館資産清册上的收藏品共計357件（實際數量少于此數，因爲在修復過程中有些殘片被拚成一件），包括壁畫、雕塑、絹畫、麻布畫和紙畫，以及絲織品殘片。過于細小、不能辨别内容的絹畫碎片未計入總數之中。

奥登堡認爲，調查當地寺院是考察隊的首要任務。他在日記中寫道："應該認爲，這個叙録（指考察隊對洞窟的描述——魯多娃注）同色彩畫、影描圖、照片和平面圖一起，爲研究寺院提供了充分可靠的資料。"

奥登堡十分愛惜文物的完整性，他認爲只可以拿走那些有可能完全消逝和取下時不損壞它物的東西。

根據奥登堡采用的伯希和編號，壁畫和雕塑收集品大部分出自18個洞窟。其中的13個洞窟現在依然存在，并被敦煌研究院編號。奥登堡新編號的5個洞窟，還没有同敦煌研究院的編號對上號，所以這些洞窟目前是否存在還有疑問。由于缺乏充足的文件證明，有些文物的來源一直不清楚。

對敦煌收藏品的整理工作包括：將某些殘片（這僅涉及到壁畫和絹畫殘片）加以比較，結合對其内容的進一步判識，按原來形式進行修復、綴合。這樣就拚合出了若干件材料不連貫但内容容易明白的畫面。例如：壁畫《睒子菩薩經變》是將Д x 197和Д x 198兩件殘片拚合在一起后看出其内容的[1]。絹畫《觀無量壽經變》（Д x 316）由35件殘片構成，《彌勒上生經變》（Д x 223、224），《東方提頭賴吒天王》（Д x 234）是2個殘片，《彌勒佛》（Д x 225）是4個殘片，等等。



60年代佈置在冬宮二樓長廊的敦煌藝術品

壁畫（應該記住，它幾乎全部是小殘片）的修復工作，主要是從戰后的1947年開始，由高級修復師Е.Г.謝寧領導，在國立艾爾米塔什博物館的大型繪畫工作室進行的。在這間工作室裏，日益完善了他特有的修復和保護敦煌塑像和壁畫的方法。

絹畫、紙畫和麻布畫是艾爾米塔什博物館的高级修復師Н.Н.馬克西莫夫修復的，他也摸索出修復類似古代東方繪畫文物的方法。

個别文物已經喪失了大部分顔色層和輪廓綫。畫家Е.С.馬特維也夫所作的綫描圖，則對理解其内容起了不小的作用。這些描繪是依靠射綫學專家Л.В.西維爾斯科夫對文物進行了紅外綫測量而完成的。

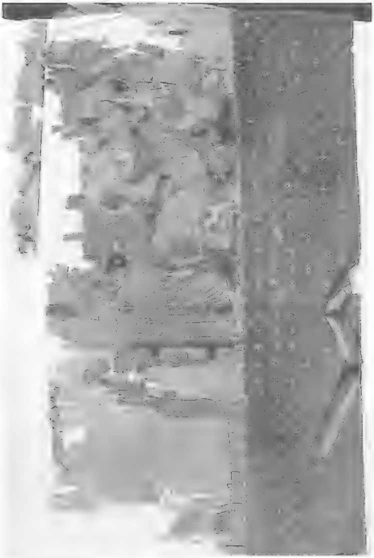
作者對艾爾米塔什博物館高级研究員加科諾娃和俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所高级研究員孟列夫對本書的建議和幫助表示深深的謝意。加科諾娃是繼С.Ф.奥登堡之后，向蘇聯學術界介紹艾爾米塔什博物館的敦煌資料和原件的第一個人[2]。

作者深深感謝中國敦煌研究院院長段文傑教授，他看了艾爾米塔什博物館的敦煌文物，提出了不少寶貴的意見和看法。

莫高窟寺院修建的時間開始于公元366年。但是能找到依據的最早的洞窟年代，大約是在公元500年前後；即從公元500年開始直到唐朝（公元618–907年）初期的公元七世紀以前，是敦煌佛教藝術的形成和發展時期。不論雕塑還是壁畫，都可以明顯看出印度阿旃陀、中亞緑洲（主要是龜兹）藝術風格和當地傳統的相互影響。

艾爾米塔什博物館收藏品中屬于這一時期的文物，最值得注意的是：

伎樂天、千佛、供養人壁畫（Д x 196）：伎樂天的身段、圓光和服飾，佛和僧人的圓光、袈裟等，用細輪廓綫描出。舞伎的裙褶和佛的袈裟的皺褶，或用細黑綫，或用



修復前的絹畫狀況.

更爲鮮艷的粗彩綫描畫。各像單列竪排，底色統一，姿勢各异。畫家製造了一種空間的錯覺，繪畫手法的多樣性使畫面的空間顯得跌宕起伏，而又不失其和諧的裝飾意味。我們認爲這是北魏時期（公元439–535年）的敦煌壁畫所特有的。

非常罕見的兩個彌勒佛浮雕塑像（Дx 199、200）對于了解石窟寺院形成發展的早期階段也許是重要的。它們是在簡陋的設備條件下用相當粗糙的手工做成的，但没有喪失其表現力。

從中國山水畫的發展角度看，《睒子菩薩經變》壁畫（Дx 197、198）是值得注意的。這是一件最早的中國建築風景畫作品，中國傳統在這幅畫的情節叙述中得到表現；畫面采用了多方位布局的手法，努力體驗空間的感覺，使得狩獵場面形象生動。同時還可以看出，它同西方無輪廓綫畫的傳統技巧的有機聯繫。山水畫的所有成分——山脉、樹木、人物和動物都采用了這種畫法。東西方傳統的有機聯繫標志了敦煌壁畫藝術發展的一定階段。柔和的褐–黑–紅系列色彩的特征，爲確定它是隋代（公元589–618年）的作品提供了依據。

從公元七世紀初到八世紀中期，寺院藝術逐漸形成了中國的特有風格。印度藝術已經被改造，中亞綠洲和中國當地傳統被加以吸收。在敦煌，表現爲印度佛教造像風格與中國木建築傳統的統一。在技巧上則以明暗法爲主要手段，表現了西域無輪廓綫畫同中國有輪廓綫畫的融合。在空處畫像這一特點也應該屬于中國傳統。

《阿彌陀佛净土變》（Дx 192）的細緻巧妙的佛和菩薩像，表現了高超的藝術水平。最典型的是右邊菩薩旁邊的植物，非常雅緻而具圖案化。這幅作品是敦煌壁畫中反映阿彌陀佛净土信仰的早期形式。這個類型的最終定型是在盛唐。盛唐時期的巨幅經變畫的不同處在于，其中的畫像和房舍建築有着明顯的立體感，遠景表現得非常清楚。[3]

我們的收集品中的所有畫像基本上都采用平面畫法，但是試圖造成空間感覺。佛像安排在稍微後退的中心視點上，背景推到更深的層次後面，兩側的菩薩像排成對角綫，造成遠景錯覺。

佛弟子頭像壁畫（Дx 188）的年代定爲盛唐時期（公元712–755年），即中國佛教藝術的極盛時期。采用明暗法輪廓綫的畫像有一定的模式（此處指佛弟子像），缺乏個性化（或肖像化）的描述。但并不是簡單地塑造一缺乏鮮明形象的面貌，而是一個真實的教徒面孔，他聚精會神，目光注視着遠方。這幅作品所體現的崇高精神力量，使我們想起唐代的大畫師們。據文獻記載，他們創造了中國佛教藝術無與倫比的畫樣。

大量的絹畫殘片，綴合了一幅不完整的彌勒上生經變畫（Дx 223、224等）。人物、建築物等都先做綫描，然後敷彩，細節采用了明暗法。菩薩頭戴寶冠，飾瓔絡，着裙帔。畫師很注意平衡畫面的整體色調。人物形象保持了具體的個性特點。飛天的形象引人矚目，她伸展雙手，持鼓翱翔；頭束鬟髻，凌空回首，露出豐滿的面頰和紅紅的嘴唇。畫師用纖細的輪廓綫，描繪出褐色長帔和橙黄裙的褶紋。圖中表現中國木建築技術的塔樓，對于考定這件文物的年代具有重要的價值。它由高大的磚製柱脚和門樓兩部分組成。塔樓圍以低矮的栅欄和高起的欄柱，上面構築了中國特有的斗拱。這種高大塔樓的上接部分被稱作"券"，在盛唐時期的洞窟（敦217窟）的壁畫中就有，在奥登堡考察隊拍的同一洞窟的照片中看得更清楚：帶門的磚製柱脚、帶欄柱和斗拱的木製塔樓和絹畫中的相同。塔樓是城墻的一部分。兩個塔樓和在唐代都城長安（今西安市）城郊發現的八世紀初的四座王陵壁畫中的門樓相似，是唐代同類建築物中最早的著名形象。此殘斷右上角的武士服裝，同七世紀末和八世紀初陵墓中出土的陶製塑像有着直接的相似，其不同點僅在于頭飾：我們文物中的武士頭戴菩薩寶冠。

女供養人豐腴的身段、髮式和服飾（大袖裙襦，半臂衫裙、帔帛），準確地表現出盛唐時期的婦女形象。臉部不是獨創的或者個性化的，而是當時仕女畫的通行模式。女供養人被列入佛像畫中，處于構圖的内部，同畫面的主要内容有關。從總體上說，這件佛像畫給人的感覺是草稿性質，不足以表現畫師真正的創造力。這種情况下，空白的榜題有力地表明，這幅佛像畫還没有被"使用"，而僅僅是半成品。

觀無量壽佛經變絹畫（Дx 222），從現存的殘斷推算，幅面相當大。遺憾的是僅保留了一塊幸好未喪失顔料層的

小片，上面畫着靠近池塘的一組菩薩像和4身供養人像。人物的空間布局、彩色綫描、明暗法，以藍色和橙黄色爲主的叠暈烘染，男供養人的官吏服飾“垂脚幞頭”、服裝的樣式和色彩——所有這一切都證明，這是典型的盛唐壁畫。此外，佛像都是按照特定形象塑造的，因爲畫像的面部表情都具有個性特征，使我們可以得出結論，畫的都是那個時代活生生的人。比如，第一位供養人坐着，雙手作祈禱，面部表情看不清楚；第二位站着，聚精會神，雙目圓睁；第三位寧静地向遠處眺望。我們不可能談論心理刻畫，但可以感受到，每位供養人在祈禱的莊嚴時刻，都具有的那種特定的心境和情緒。

由此可以提出，中國唐代存在一種獨特的肖像畫，同公元四世紀的畫家顧愷之和公元六世紀的色彩畫理論家謝赫的觀點有關。從保留至今的片斷看，顧愷之説：“凡畫，人最難。”顧愷之認爲人物繪畫中最主要的是畫眼睛，眼睛表現了人的生命力和實質。色彩畫理論家謝赫的《畫論》提出了畫家在創作時應當遵循的六條法則，是對顧愷之理論的繼承和發展。張彦遠是謝赫“六法”的第一個注釋者，他認爲“六法”中的第一條最重要，“第一氣韵，生動是也。”即不能表現精神實質的畫不能算作真正的人物畫。

根據收藏品中爲數不多的唐代壁畫，我們可以得出結論，莫高窟寺院墻壁上的中國佛教藝術，是在中國文化藝術的共同傳統上成長起來的。

輪廓綫細密精緻，善于揭示人物的内心活動，面部富于表情，這些特徵可以斷定千手千眼觀音（Дx 283–305）也是盛唐時期的，這是學術界中聞名的密宗佛像畫最早的



可以和千手千鉢文殊師利菩薩方向參見的敦煌千手觀音幢畫。

畫樣之一。

敦煌的佛教藝術，可以將中唐（781–848）、晚唐（848–907）和五代（907–960）作爲具有一定涵意的一個整體來對待。這是寺院歷史上長達二百來年的一大階段。這個時期裏，在同中央政府失去聯繫的情況下，敦煌的佛教藝術發展到了新的高峰，具有了新的特點。中唐時期壁畫和塑像藝術作爲各種影響的綜合體，保持了傳統的造型準則，其中盛唐時期的古典藝術起了重大作用。盛唐時期敦煌同中央政府有過密切聯繫。但是對于文物年代的斷定來説，這是一個最困難的時期。從某種可能性來説，也許只有兩件一佛二菩薩粗麻布幡畫（Дx 211、62）和幾件菩薩絹畫殘斷（Дx 221、228、225、261、220）可能屬于這個時期。

收藏品中晚唐時期的數量相當可觀。首先是有類型衆多的巨幅粗麻布幡畫。雖然保存狀况不好（有的只能通過紅外綫才可以看見），但可以看出繪畫傳統延續的許多特徵。佛像的綫條匀整柔和，面部和雙手的造型技藝精湛，比例加長，服裝帶有一道道皺褶，人像有點呆板。彩色底色可以認爲是這個時期的特點（Дx 79、80、210、181）。從總體上看，這一時期的繪畫逐漸走上中亞細亞藝術風格的共同軌道，其中吐蕃和回鶻文化藝術的影響特别明顯。這也是通過密教造像日益大規模的傳播、密教特有的肖像畫的發展、以及裝飾成分的加强來實現的。菩薩服裝的特點是各種飾物豪華叠纍，寶冠富麗堂皇，腰帶花紋繁縟，服裝以鮮花圖案爲底色。從這個角度看，千手千眼千鉢文殊師利（Дx 205）是獨一無二的形象。雖然顔色層（主要是右面部分）幾乎完全破壞，但從中可以看出輪廓綫優美精緻，整個畫面的綫條柔和匀整。

如上所説，佛像的深底色由藍、橙黄和深紅加大量金粉構成豐富的色彩變化，富有裝飾性的菩薩寶冠，菩薩圓光的複雜幾何圖案，都反映出在這個時期的佛像畫中出現的新特點。

接下來的五代時期（公元907–960年）表現出吐蕃和回鶻藝術傳統對寺廟藝術影響的全部過程。佛像的服裝和標志物富麗堂皇，綫條干澀，顯得笨重。許多畫像色彩單一，變化不大（兩三種顔色）。

艾爾米塔什博物館收藏的許多同時期的佛像畫和這個時期的粗製文物一樣，繪製粗糙，塗色馬虎，缺乏色彩的變化。九、十世紀的敦煌佛像畫中，最值得注意的現象，是出現了大量的供養人畫像及祈禱文。這種現象同把觀音菩薩作爲獨立的、不受阿彌陀佛支配的特殊崇拜對象有着直接的關係。對觀音的主要祈求是往生阿彌陀佛净土，然後是祈求全家興旺和國家繁榮。

有一幅供養人幡（Дx 164）是最早的一件著名文物，上面的供養人是整個家庭。榜題有祈禱文（未保存下來），左邊畫着婦女，右邊是男人。人像前方的題詞表明了供養人名字及其親屬關係。中國官吏的頭飾——“垂脚幞頭”以及婦女的髮式——髮髻高聳頭頂，着三個花叉，兩鬢包面，使我們斷定這件文物有可能是晚唐時期的。

值得注意的是一幅新娘畫像。據我們看來，佛像畫中

出現新娘的形象說明佛教的民衆觀點有了一定的發展，即佛像同祖先崇拜的融合。因爲新娘的禱告最可能的是在祈求早生貴子（因爲祖先崇拜的基本信條和觀音菩薩的主要職能是幫助所有受苦受難者，其中也包括滿足婦女懷孕生子的願望）。

我們的收藏品中有一幅十一面觀音畫像，有確切的造像年代（公元956年）和幾乎完整的祈禱文，內容是祈求他去世的祖先往生阿彌陀佛净土。

對菩薩形象的處理可以看到這個時期的典型技法。服裝皺褶端正對稱，七彩圓光，以同一顏色的不同濃度層層叠暈。十世紀供養人“硬脚幞頭”，是五代男子典型的摩登頭飾，中國古代史料上曾有過記載。從這個時期的男子服裝中可以看出地方特色——首先是長袍從側襟開衩，這樣更便于騎馬。我們認爲這是受到回鶻服裝的影響。

晚唐五代時期女供養人服裝，包括衫裙帔帛，和前個時期的大體相似。但頭飾和髮式帶有新的特點，顯得豪華厚重。特別是在五代時期，這類頭飾被稱爲“花叉冠”或“鳳冠”。貴族女供養人髮式上的鳳凰形象和所有（壁畫和其它繪畫上）貴婦人的髮簪，不僅出現在敦煌文物上，而且出現在中央亞細亞綠洲回鶻石窟的壁畫上。潘絜兹把這種情况同回鶻的影響聯繫起來，認爲這是由于敦煌的統治者和貴族同回鶻人有着親近的姻親關係。我們認爲，這類頭飾的起源應從中國方面去追尋。在從晚唐時期開始的繪畫和敦煌壁畫中，可以看到那個時期許多貴族婦女各式各樣的髮式，其中有一種“花叉冠”髮式特別突出，如同漢字的字面意思一樣，包括花朵和金屬飾物（髮簪）。花叉冠上的髮簪和飾物的大小、花朵和吊墜的數量也各不相同。敦煌莫高窟敦130窟壁畫上的婦女們戴的黄金鳳冠引起我們極大的興趣。

證明這種頭飾是中國式的根據，是《中國帝后肖像》一書中有宋代（公元960-1268年）皇后的髮式圖像。這種髮式是頭髮上別了許多花和鳳叉。兩鬢各有三個髮簪，逐個向上排列。換句話說，根據構造和個別實物來看，這種頭飾很象五代-兩宋時期貴族婦女的頭飾。我們認爲，晚唐-五代-兩宋時期女供養人的頭飾，在“唐風”影響下，在敦煌得到了發展。這是由于寺院同當地政權有着形形色色的聯繫。中國公主和回鶻可汗的姻親關係也起了不小的作用。

如同我們看到的那樣，九世紀敦煌佛像畫中已經出現了供養人全家的畫像，到十世紀這種情况就更多了。完全有理由把它們稱作家庭肖像。這種家庭肖像中形成了自身的系統，遵循了一定的程式。具體的是在榜題中指明姓名、稱號和親屬關係。對所有畫像來説，這個系統嚴格記錄了供養人題記，嚴格根據尊卑男女年齡對家庭成員進行分列。首句禱告詞是“佛清信弟子某某”，姓名前面不加官銜和年齡。其中有穿着官服的中國官吏，以及合乎當時着裝標準的婦女。

這些家庭肖像是中國宗教儀式肖像發展的一個獨特階段，僅僅在九-十世紀的敦煌聞名。我們認爲，它們仿佛是以顧愷之-謝赫的理論傳統爲基礎的中國肖像畫史的整個鏈索中的一個個別環節。

王克孝翻譯

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2 С. Ф. ОлЬденбург, *Пещеры тысячи будд*. Журнал “Восток” №I. с .57-66. 1922. ;

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3 見《中國石窟·敦煌莫高窟》第四卷，圖9-16，盛唐第172窟《觀無量壽經變》。

敦煌紡織品的藏品、年代、工藝技術和藝術風格

陸柏 Лубо－Лесниченко

(一)

本世紀初在敦煌附近莫高窟的“藏經洞”中，除了發現大量文字資料和宗教繪畫外，藝術織錦和刺綉品也占有重要地位。這些絲織品命運迴异，目前均散落在各地博物館[1]。1907年斯坦因拿走的大部分紡織品，藏于不列顛博物館[2]，也有藏在德里國家博物館[3]的；1912年由伯希和挑選的紡織品，藏于巴黎集美博物館和法國國家圖書館[4]。而1914－1915年由奧登堡率領的第二次新疆考察隊取走的則藏于艾爾米塔什博物館。艾爾米塔什博物館的敦煌藏品數量比前兩批要少得多，僅及斯坦因所得的1/5或伯希和所得的1/3。據説東京的國家博物館也藏有敦煌紡織品[5]。中國的資料宣布，1965年在敦煌第130窟、122窟和127窟中發現了六十件八世紀的絲織品[6]，1972年在第125窟發現476年的織綉[7]。

全部敦煌絲織藏品共有150多個種類，除日本奈良的法隆寺皇室珍藏館的藏品以外，中國吐魯番附近的阿斯塔那墓群出土的絲織品便是研究中世紀早期遠東紡織藝術的最重要的資料了。應當指出，同敦煌的其他文物種類相比，紡織品不大受人重視。上述斯坦因和安德魯斯的有關紡織品復原的著作可以説明這點。遺憾的是，在文章中很少談到紡織技術，也缺少織紋圖案。目前凱·里布正在對德里國家博物館藏的敦煌織物進行研究。此外奧里爾和達列爾正就斯坦因所得絲織品的織造工藝撰文[8]。德·拉烏里正研究不列顛博物館收藏的敦煌紡織品的織造特點[9]。凱·里布和維艾里已對伯希和搜集品的紡織技術進行了全面深入的研究，并發表了論著。加科諾娃對艾爾米塔什博物館收藏品的花紋圖案進行了修復工作[10]。

藏經洞中發現的絲織品用途各异，大部分是佛像的鑲邊。這當然是受中國古畫的影響。在中國，自五世紀起絲綢和紙張上的字畫都是用絲織品鑲邊保護的[11]。艾爾米塔什博物館的這種絲織品的尺寸寬26厘米，長約2米，綴有花邊，鑲在八世紀的阿彌陀佛經變畫邊緣上。

有些絲織品用在書套上，如弗魯格所説，書卷的織物封套起始于漢代（公元前二世紀——公元二世紀）。敦煌所見書套通常呈長方形，長30－65厘米，寬28－30厘米。有的書套上縫有三角形的飾物。它是用一塊素色絲織物製成，周圍和中間飾有帶花的彩色織物。除了絲綢之外，書套還用細麻布或用絲帶編結竹片而製成，角上常織上或寫上書名。日本法隆寺珍藏館中的敦煌書套的形狀也大致如此[12]。

敦煌收藏的絲織品中，各種各樣的幢幡帷帳數量甚多，足以證明其在宗教儀式和信徒生活中的重要作用。

在織出的帷帳中最令人感興趣的是德里國家博物館收藏的一幅，長達2.5米，飾有綉花綬帶，由許許多多各種各樣的絲織品殘片縫綴製成[13]。這種帷帳用來裝飾佛龕就像生動的壁畫一樣。

按古代傳統，織物製成的幡都有三角形（少數長方形的）幡頭（佛語稱“首”），下懸幡面（“身”）和流蘇（“足”）[14]。幡頭上有扣絆作爲懸掛之用，幡面的大小各不相同，小到20－30厘米，大至幾米。

敦煌石窟中的壁畫和一些文字資料有證明幡的這種用途的許多實例。它們懸掛在“塔”的兩邊，如北魏敦



花樹雙鹿聯珠紋幡頭的展開示意圖。

428窟（伯135窟）和九世紀五代敦76窟（伯102窟）的壁畫所示。有的也挂在華蓋和神像兩側，如在敦305窟（六世紀——七世紀初）中所見。在一篇關于新發現的敦煌紡織品的文章中，作者提到一些洞窟中和菩薩旁邊都留下挂幡幢用的扣絆。此外，在廟會和其他法會，信徒們也要打着這類幡。唐代的敦146窟（伯8窟）、敦332窟（伯146窟）、敦331窟（伯145窟）中的壁畫及前面提到的文書中均有記載。

根據文獻記載，教徒們認爲打這種幡可以禳災免難，延年益壽，來世官運亨通。由于需求量很大，寺廟周圍便有一些人專以製幡、出售謀生；在藏經洞所得的資料表明，敦煌諸多寺廟附近也有這種手工業者[15]。

從地方文字資料可以了解，唐時敦煌緑洲曾有養蠶業。雖然當地居民曾能織製絲綢，但是這一小塊地方的産品顯然不能滿足當地諸多寺廟的需要，故所用絲織品基本上是外來的[16]。敦煌所見文書記載這些絲織品主要來自大的中心城市，如河南、陝西、四川諸省。敦煌作爲絲綢之路的樞紐，也有來自西方的紡織品，比如有一種叫“贊丹尼奇錦”的，其産地在粟特。有意思的是這種絲織品（也包括通經斷緯的織物）在敦煌都很貴重，主要用來作書的封套[17]。

（二）

關于“藏經洞”中絲織品的年代問題相當複雜，因爲它跟文字資料、文獻、畫卷不同。紡織品（尤其是幡）一般是不記年代的，只能靠對比的方法來確定大致的年代。藏經洞中的資料均爲寺廟藏品，而寺廟的存在已經過了好幾個世紀，當然，絲織品的不同年代也大致可定。

圖版後附表中列舉了藏經洞中所知的絲織品，并將他們同大致確定年代的絲織品作了比較。據我們的意見，年代最早應是CH00118號，近于唐代[18]；其裝飾圖案是西方成分和中國固有成分的混合，這在六朝時期（三——六世紀）的紡織工藝上是典型的。其總體構圖很像地中海地區的傳統：中間有典型結節的“生命樹”，花紋卷曲呈波浪形，聯結處也很典型。圖案中的龍、臆想的飛禽和臉譜無疑都是中國産品。有種可稱之爲“龜甲”的圖案，在阿斯塔那墓葬群的裝飾品中也常可見[19]。這種圖案在中國五——六世紀出現後，大概没有越過七世紀，在我們所知的唐代紡織品中就没有再出現過。

同樣，CH00178號[20]和CH00169號[21]絲織品也可在四——六世紀的科普人和拜占廷人的紡織品中找到原型[22]。同時，正如維艾里所説，CH00178(01193)號絲織品是用織錦技法織造的，這種技術在六——七世紀之交的中國曾十分流行。

許多紡織品的年代可以確定爲七世紀下半葉——八世紀上半葉，如一部分“贊丹尼奇Ⅰ型”織物，經耶魯沙林斯卡婭確定爲七世紀上半葉所産[23]。經同吐魯番附近阿斯塔那墓中出土的、幕格山出土的[24]和奈良法隆寺皇家博物館珍藏的絲織品比較，可以確定藏經洞中的某些絲織品屬七世紀末——八世紀上半葉。

大部分絲織品屬于封洞前兩個世紀：八世紀下半葉——十世紀上半葉。但是由比較所得知的數目是有限的，因爲我們對這一時期由其他地區來的絲織品知道比較少。屬這一類的有：“贊丹尼奇Ⅱ型”，確定爲八世紀下半葉——九世紀。還有一些同在阿斯塔那墓、莫謝夫溝（北高加索），以及同不久前在莫高窟第130窟發現的相似，顯然是在藏經洞封閉以前運來的。

（三）

藏經洞中紡織品的年代各异，包括四個多世紀；因産地不同，織造技術也相距甚遠。

上述安德魯斯、里布、維艾里、拉烏里、奧里爾和達列爾等人的著作對此作了明確説明。收藏于艾爾米塔什博物館的敦煌絲織品的織造特點，基本上也與上述文章所述相符。伯希和和維艾里在描述這些藏品時曾研究了織物起花的組織法有四種方式。所有這些方式在艾爾米塔什博物館藏品中都能見到。其中最簡單的一種花紋是在平紋地上，由四組綫織出斜紋的組織花紋（即1／3斜紋組織法）。這種方法是中國紡織的傳統法式。正如樓蘭和諾因烏拉Ноин－улы的資料證明，漢朝時大批單色花紋絲織品都是用這種方式織造的[25]。艾爾米塔什收藏的11種顯花織物中有2種（Дх291、292）是用此法織造的。這種技術以後發展成平紋地上由六組綫織出斜紋圖案（即1／5斜紋組織法）。艾爾米塔什的藏品中有3塊（Дх287、295、289）是用此法織造的。

公元七世紀中國所發生的“紡織革命”也反映到織錦的織造工藝上，此時花紋是由緯綫顯花。這種工藝最簡單的不同點是花紋由四組（3:1）或六組（5:1）織出緯綫起花的斜紋組織法。這兩種方法相比，明顯處是經、緯綫功能的對調，兩種圖案各呈90度差异。艾爾米塔什的藏品中有5件（Дх167、170、46、45+166、290）便是這樣織成的。

最後一種比上述三種都要複雜，即在用三組綫織成2/1經綫斜紋地上，織出由三組緯綫顯出的2/1的緯綫紋花紋圖案。

伯希和藏品中經維艾里鑒别的5件薄紗以及艾爾米塔什的一件殘片都屬于“扭絞”方法（日語叫“羅式”）。維艾里研究了羅紗組織的兩種方法，其中一種（Дх152）便是艾爾米塔什所藏的。

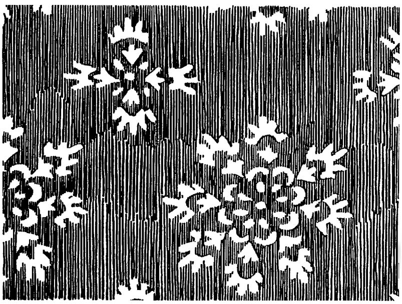
敦煌的藏品爲研究彩色織錦這種複雜、最有意思的絲織品的生産歷史提供了大量的資料。古代中國織造技術的特點是，彩色花紋用不同顔色的經綫（通常是三色）織成，緯綫只起輔助作用。在穿過經綫時，把用得着的和用不着的經綫聯結起來，分别組成花紋。一般情况是經綫從三根緯綫上面通過，然後從第四根的下面穿過[26]，敦煌藏品CH00118號便是這樣的。藏品中有這種織造法，可以斷定那是七世紀末——八世紀初以前的産品[27]。這種織造法的出現大約在唐代以後。維艾里的研

究表明，法國收藏的大部分織錦基本上屬于這種方法，艾爾米塔什的藏品中有三分之一是這種方法，對法隆寺的研究可以說明這種方法不晚于八世紀[28]。

雖然文字史料和文物研究都可說明，緯綫起花技術在中國的廣泛運用是七世紀初的事，但這一問題至今沒有解决[29]。相當數量的敦煌絲織品是用維艾里稱之爲"織錦組織法"織造的。把這種織錦和漢代織錦相比，可以看出經、緯綫功能正好對調，花紋相差90度。維艾里對伯希和的紡織品中的幾種織錦工藝作了研究，艾爾米塔什的Дх288號藏品就是用這種工藝中的一種方法織成的。

法國的藏品中沒有用這種方法織成的絲織品，但法隆寺的藏品中却有相似的。對遠東織造工藝的研究雖然薄弱，但仍可以有把握地確定各種織造工藝的産地及其年代；只有"贊丹尼奇"錦是例外。經耶路沙林斯卡婭及其他學者對三百年間（七世紀——九世紀）織物的仔細研究，認爲其産地是粟特[30]。

在敦煌紡織品中占有顯著地位的是印花織物，約占總量的三分之一，和法隆寺所藏同類織物的比例相當。看來這一事實可以說明，中世紀早期中國絲織品的生産中，印花織物確實起過重要的作用。



馬特維也夫臨摹的織染圖案。

（四）

如上所述，研究遠東紡織史的基本資料來自阿斯塔那墓群、敦煌寺廟和法隆寺皇家珍藏館。阿斯塔那墓群位于吐魯番綠洲，高昌故城以北約4公里的阿斯塔那村附近。這一墓地是1913年由日本考察隊首次研究的[31]。以後，1916年斯坦因考察隊在那兒工作過[32]、1928－1930年中國考古學家黃文弼[33]，以及1959年起新疆博物館和新疆社會科學院均在這裏發掘過[34]。從墓銘和出土文物的年代上可知，阿斯塔那墓地從四世紀至八世紀即已存在（根據目前資料已確定年代的上限爲363年，下限爲778年）[35]。

法隆寺珍藏館紡織品主要來自752年至756年[36]，它包括七——八世紀上半葉的遠東絲織的豐富資料。至于敦煌紡織品，如前所述，確定年代爲六——十世紀。

這三部分藏品的主要内容有若干差別。阿斯塔那有許多件屬六朝時期，且是西方生産。法隆寺的某些藏品由日本工匠按唐代藝術傳統生産。

敦煌藏品包含了大量晚唐（八世紀下半葉——十世紀）絲織資料，這是前兩批織物中所沒有的。而且，我們認爲，這些差别并無原則意義，只是由存放年代和地點不同造成的。上述絲織品之間有許多相同之處，總體上可以互相補充，可以提供一個中世紀早期遠東紡織史的客觀現象。形象地說，它們像是一個三角架的三個支點。

因此，敦煌的絲織品同藏經洞發現的其他文物有着本質的不同。其他文物均同佛教和佛像有着緊密聯繫，而織物紋樣圖案則與此毫無關係；正如我們在古俄羅斯和歐洲的許多古老寺院中所見的一樣，那裏也都有許多紡織品，但花紋圖案却同基督教毫無關係。

敦煌絲織品反映出中國圖案藝術在唐代以前和唐朝時期所發生的基本變化過程。就象兩批迥然不同的作品一樣，一個滲入東地中海地區圖案風格（六——七世紀），另一個是傳入薩珊伊朗的圖案藝術，尤其是聯珠紋圖案（七——八世紀），并逐步增加了彩色圖案的比重（八——十世紀）。

根據我們所得到的來自阿斯塔那墓地的最初的資料，可以認爲，這種圖案在中國流行于六世紀末——七世紀初。這是一件彩色錦，圓圈中有孔雀，圓圈之間的空隙有龍的形象和方塊字。文字資料確定年代爲公元596－616年[37]。敦煌壁畫中也出現過隋朝（公元589——617年）薩珊式的紋樣，那是觀音菩薩的衣服，上面有騎手和獅子搏鬥的圓圈圖案。秋山（Akiyama.T）鑒別這幅壁畫的年代爲六世紀末——七世紀初[38]。

上述材料都有相應的文字記載。中國最早的關于薩珊圖案的記載是隋朝的國務活動家何稠。《隋書·何稠傳》說："稠性绝巧，有智思，用意精微。""博覽古圖，多識舊物。波斯嘗獻金綿錦袍，組織殊麗。上命稠爲之。稠錦既成，逾所獻者，上甚悅。""大業（605－617）初，煬帝欲巡幸揚州，謂稠曰：'今天下大定，朕承洪業，服章文物，缺略猶多。卿可討閱圖籍，營造輿服羽儀，送至江都也。'……稠于是營黃麾三萬六千人仗及車輿輦輅、皇后鹵簿、百官儀服，依期而就，送于江都。所役工十餘萬人……。"在敦煌紡織品中我們見到各種各樣的題材和主題的圖案。在本文中我們想詳細談談在東西文化相互交流史中占重要地位的一種圖案，即所謂"薩珊聯珠紋圖案"。

中世紀早期，在遠東出現的絲織品圖案的各種新類型和新紋式中，流傳最廣、歷時最久的是所謂的薩珊聯珠紋圖案。這是一種圓圈形式的圖案，由許多小圓珠組成（珍珠形），圓圈裏面經常有禽獸花紋（雖然有時也有人像式織物花紋）。聯珠紋可能排成直行或排成棋盤式，圓圈之間的空隙處則填以獸狀或植物狀的圖案。

采·加科諾娃曾專門著文討論過薩珊圖案的形成問題，確信這種紡織圖案是復現了裝飾的錢幣或者剪紙而來。那么薩珊聯珠紋形狀就曾在其他織物和其他工藝中出現過，并在形成紡織圖案以前就已定型[39]。

關于薩珊圖案在中國的重要材料，九世紀張彦遠所著《歷代名畫記》一書中亦有記載。該書在論及唐初的名師時提到："竇師綸，……性巧絶。……凡創瑞錦宮綾，章彩奇麗，蜀人至今謂之'陵陽公様'。""高祖（618-629）、太宗（627-650）時，内庫瑞錦，對雉、鬥羊、翔鳳、游麟之狀，創自師綸，至今傳之。"

由上述資料可見，薩珊圖案在中國廣泛流傳，爲時甚短，——不過二、三百年。而其在遠東歷時之久，流傳之廣，可由以下事實證明：織造此種圖案的藝術中心（薩珊伊朗、粟特達、西域緑洲）相距較近，聯繫緊密。薩珊絲織品工藝高超，藝屬上乘，這點，七世紀著名的玄奘法師亦曾提及。

此外，在當時的漢人看來，這一引進符合傳統觀念，也是古老傳統的延續。中國文化史上也曾有過類似的現象。在中國古代哲學和天體學著作《易經》中有下列説法："天有象，主凶吉，聖者（據此）占之。"在這一常爲中世紀中國所引用的著名論斷中包含了古代和中世紀中國人世界觀中的一個極其重要的特徵，據此可以認爲天地之間、天人之間存在着一種玄妙的聯繫。稍有些許違背，天就有所感應。

這種聯繫不僅及于帝王，而且及于社會各個層次，甚至其最小單位——家庭，甚至地方官員政績的優劣也會引起當地上天的感應。寧德·赫寫道："這種精神對自然的反作用同西方思想史有某些相似之處"，但"中國人把這種理論推向更遠，賦予它以從未有過的廣闊天空，是一種機械反應和程式化的邏輯推理。"

這種觀念對于中國藝術的發展産生巨大影響。特别是在它的早期，各個不同領域都不同程度地存在着這種思想的反映，可以説，最明顯的是反映在絲織品和銅鏡的圖案上。這是因爲按傳統看法，銅鏡反映了縮小了的世界，它上面的圖案象徵着世界吉祥和萬事如意。同樣，傳統衣着也是世界的象徵模型。

選定吉祥物是固定的和有界限的，其選材可見于山東武梁祠的石刻浮雕（公元二世紀），其中有臆想的和現實的動物：麒麟、龍、鳳凰、白鹿、白虎、熊、白魚；植物有靈芝和連理樹，還有象徵帝王的玉璧、玉圭和三角旌旗等等。

三——四世紀是中國歷史上政治十分混亂的時期，同時也是新文化交流的活躍時期。在"漢社會危機"（按巴拉捷茨所稱）以後，中國人如饑似渴吸收通過絲綢之路和海上交通向他們撲來的新思想和新方式。隨着佛教傳入中國，向遠東滲入的還有來自伊朗、中亞、東地中海地區和拜占廷等各地的諸多西方影響，并爲其吸收。近幾年的發掘表明，新的圖式和紋様在紡織圖案中已廣爲流傳和存在。有些在中國土壤上爲時不久，而有些則存在了若干世紀，并廣泛流傳。

按照安德魯斯和斯坦因的看法，通常認爲薩珊的散式圖案和漢族的延續花紋是相對立的，其實這并不公允。因爲他們説的是指主要風格——"雲紋"，而在紀元之初，中國已有散式圖案流傳，如諾因烏拉ＭＰ－１２３７號和樓蘭之SCIII.04號[40]。在紀元最初幾世紀，中國紡織圖案中也曾有過圓圈，如錢幣、錢幣狀的避邪物——玉璧、銅鏡等。在帕爾米拉發現東漢時期的絲織品上有錢幣圖案[41]。三世紀的絲織品上有銅鏡形圖案，也出自帕爾米拉[42]。直到唐代圓圈形圖案和薩珊圖案均有生産，例如：敦煌Chdo304的印花絲織品即有圓形圖案，其原件年代爲8-9世紀[43]。關于有玉璧圖案的絲織品，可舉晋簡文帝（公元371-373年）和魏文帝（公元220-226年）的詩爲例[44]。

所有這些圖案都屬于如意（吉祥物）一類，而且都廣泛地聯想到各種良好願望。如錢幣自然會聯想到發財、富裕，所以錢幣圖案多見于漢代的雕刻。銅鏡、玉璧象徵着帝王的英明厚德，而圓鏡則意味着萬物和諧。由此，完全可以邏輯地認爲，六朝晚期沿絲綢之路進入的新様式圖案在中國人眼中可以被看作是銅鏡、玉璧一類的吉祥之物。

所以，可以説六——八世紀的中國藝術（首先是圖案藝術），經歷着複雜的對大量的外來影響吸收和改造的過程。隨着佛教傳入大量佛像和象徵物，另一方面，在伊朗文化影響下，滲入中國的所謂"薩珊圖案"和中國人傳統的原始哲學概念，首先是和道教概念融爲一體。這一過程在武后（公元684-709年）統治時期達到頂點。此時薩珊圖案正式成爲王朝官吏等階的象徵，如《唐會要》列舉武后６９４年常用的圖案有對鹿、鷹、麒麟、虎、雕、牛、獅等等[45]。

薩珊圖案的固定圖式和題材在進入中國文化後的三個多世紀中，主題和形象經歷了複雜的變形，某些在薩珊伊朗和粟特廣爲流傳的題材，在唐代却未能延續，形象地説明在移植中進行了舍取，被舍去的約有存在于想象中的動物和野猪頭；而其他的一些形象和構圖則成功地植入中國土地，取得了新的象徵意義，并廣爲流傳。屬于這一類的有獅子、孔雀、狩獵圖、生命樹。這些形象新生後具有了新的象徵意義，而原意已經消失或者被遺忘。比如獅子，在紡織品和銅鏡（尤其是海獸葡萄紋鏡）的圖案中占有重要地位，現在已經失去其太陽的意義而接近于"獅聖"範疇的一種象徵威力的動物，并同虎一様成爲西方的象徵。但是對它仍然保持着對雄壯偉力的崇拜；唐時又給它增加了驅妖壓邪的性質。

在多種情况下又存在這交叉現象，即不論在中國，還是在西方、伊朗都存在這互不相關的形象的叠交，如鹿、羊、帶綬的鳥都曾流傳廣泛。同樣，如鹿的形象，從塞克時代起就在伊朗各氏族中廣爲流傳一樣，對鹿的崇拜在中國也源遠流長。鹿在古代道教中有重要作用，與衆多仙家有關，能賜予人以長壽[46]。

羊的形象也是如此。羊紋在伊朗常用作紀念物，而在中國同"金烏"一様都表示太陽（"羊"的諧音），

能拒凶，使家庭增福添財，如此類推。威嚴的纓絡冠戴在唐代中國人眼中和吉祥的綬帶相同，這從唐時就已經在圖案中起重大作用，意味着長壽[47]。

除上述圖像外，在薩珊聯珠紋中還時常使用中世紀中國人熟知的傳統形象，如龍、鳳、麟、虎等。薩珊聯珠紋的題材風格種類繁多，但最基本的還是鳳和鹿，這約占我們所知的唐時薩珊花紋總數的四分之一，有些題材內容很容易演繹，在相應的文章中可找到解釋。可是還有許多却仍待探索，例如法隆寺的一幅聯珠紋中的犀牛和月亮，不久前才爲日本學者們釋出。

如前所述，薩珊絲織品生產鼎盛期在七——八世紀，以後重心便向植物圖案、主要是花卉圖案轉移。布·格林斯瓦爾德曾著文對唐時金銀飾品中的這種傾向做了描述[48]，對阿斯塔那及法隆寺和敦煌資料的比較研究，也可以從薩珊花紋在紡織品圖案中逐步減少的情況提供直觀材料，如六——八世紀的阿斯塔那墓地出土的中國紡織品的圖案紋樣中，薩珊聯珠紋不少于四分之一，法隆寺中的約占所有紡織品的15%，而敦煌的這種圖案不多于10%。在我們已知的、已確定年代的薩珊圖案中，最晚的絲織品爲公元943年（斯坦因所藏的CH0026號）。這樣，阿斯塔那的早期材料可以說明這種圖案的定型和早期情況，阿斯塔那的晚期出土物和法隆寺藏品標志着唐代薩珊聯珠紋的鼎盛期，而敦煌藏品則代表了這種圖案的逐漸消失期。

李坤 譯

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Предисловие

Л.Н.Меньшиков

Русская Туркестанская экспедиция 1914-1915 гг., организованная и возглавленная акад. С. Ф. Ольденбургом, хотя и называлась так, но на самом деле была снаряжена специально в Дуньхуан, в "Пещеры тысячи будд", т.е. в пещеры Могао. Состав экспедиции был подобран для проведения всесторонних исследований памятников культуры. Руководитель экспедиции С.Ф. Ольденбург, глубокий знаток Индии, буддизма, нидийского и буддийского искусства, был также признанным главой центральноазиатских исследований. Главным его помощником стал С.М. Дудин, художник и фотограф, участник ряда предыдущих экспедиций, включая и первую экспедицию С.Ф.Ольденбурга в Турфан и окружающие оазисы в 1909-1910 гг. Ольденбург уже тогда мог оценить искусство и энтузиазм Дудина как исследователя. Топограф Н. А. Смирнов тажк входил в состав первой экспедиции. Кроме того, участниками были художник В.С. Биркенберг и этнограф Б.Ф.Ромберг. Сохранившиеся документы также показывают, что главной залачей было изучение памятников искусства, их описание и определение.

При всем том, до самого последнего времени экспедиция известна была больше всего коллекцией рукописей, собранных в Дуньхуане. Этому способствовало то обстоятельство, что именно рукописи прежде всего привлояли внимание исследователей в первую очередь. Ими занимались К.К.Флуг, группа по описанию рукописей во главе с Л.Н.Меньшиковым, Л.И. Чугуевский, И.Т.Зограф, И.С.Гуревич, М.И.Демидова. Приезжавшие в Петербург — Ленинград иностранные специалисты: Чжэн Чжэнь-до, Фудзиэда Акира, Ямамото Тацуро, Пань Чжун-гуй, П. Демьевиль и многие другие почти все ранее всего знакомились с рукописным собранием. Поэтому наибольшее количество публикаций материалов экспедиции, хранящихся в Санкт-Петербурге, это описания, исследования и издания рукописей из Дуньхуана. Шанхайское издательство "Древняя книга" и Институт востоковедения Российской Академии Наук тоже предприняли в первую очередь совместное факсимильное издание всех рукописей Дуньхуанского фонда, хранящихся в Санкт-Петербурге, и первые пять томов уже вышли из печати.

После возвращения в Петербург русских экспедиций в Центральную Азию их материалы разделялись на две части: рукописи передавались для хранения в Азиатский музей (теперь Санкт-Петербургский филиал Института востоковедения), а предметы искусства, топографические и этнографические материалы, полевые записи и дневники все это было помещено в различные музеи: Русском. Этнографическом, в географическом обществе, но впоследствии, после ряда перемещений было собрано в коллекциях Эрмитажа и теперь хранится там. Однако до сих пор не были изданы ни само собранне в целом, ни сводные каталоги. Статьи Н.В.Дьяконовой, М.Н.Кречетовой, М.Л.

Рудовой (Пчелиной) посвящены лишь отдельным предметам из коллекций и немногочислены.

Настоящее издание ставит своей целью продолжить сводную публикацию материалов экспедиции Ольденбурга в Дуньхуан, начатую полным изданием рукописей. Изкание готовится Государственным Эрмитажем совместно с шанхайским издательством "Древняя книга". Для того, чтобы представить важность для дуньхуановедения этого издания, нужно кратко коснуться общего плана и методов экспедиции.

С.Ф.Ольденбург не одобрял, как он выражался, "чисто музейные цели", т.е. собирание экспонатов для музеев, результатом которого было нередко нарушение целостности, а часто и разрушение отдельных памятников. Против такого отношения к памятникам культуры С.Ф. Ольденбург протестовал неоднократно на различных научных съездах и конференциях. Он также считал необходимым комплексное изучение памятников, с учетом всех предметов и деталей, а не выборочное по вкусу изучающего. С этих двух главных точек зрения и были составлены планы работ экспедиции. До Ольденбурга в Дуньхуане побывали экспедиции английская А. Стейна, французская П.Пельо, китайская, целью которой был вывоз из Дуньхуана в Пекин рукописей, оставшихся после Стейна и Пельо, японская, организованная Отани Кодзуем. Но задачу комплексного исследования ставил перед собой только П.Пельо. Его экспедиция сняла большое количество фотографий и копий с предметов искусства, составила общий план пещер, и впервые дала пещерам сплошную нумерацию. Кроме того, Пельо, выдающимся китаеведом своего времени, было переписано много надписей, имевших отношение к истории пещер. Деятельность П.Пельо была по методам всего ближе для С.Ф.Ольденбурга, они были знакомы, и Ольденбург знал о результатах его экспедиции сразу после завершения работ, до первых публикаций. Сказанное объясняет, почему С.Ф.Ольденбург рассматривал свою работу как продолжение сделанного Пельо и почему принял нумерацию пещер, предложенную им.

План деятельности экспедиции был весьма обширен: планы всех без исключения пещер; описание пещер как техническое (форма, размеры), так и по содержанию (стенопись, статуи, архитектурные детали); раскопки земляных полов в пещерах с целью обнаружения древних предметов; зарисовки общего вида пещер; фотографирование внутренности пещер; снятие копий (калек) с наиболее важных объектов. Замечательно, что в этом плане не было снятия и увоза фресок и статуй (в чем некоторые другие экспедиции не очень стеснялись). И это не просто декларации: экспедиция Ольденбурга, как видь но из состава дуньхуанской коллекции Эрмитажа, состоит из фрагментов предметов искусства, либо обветшавших от времени, либо разрушен ных людьми —— и те и другие, если бы они не были собраны экспедицией, могли бы быть навсегда утрачены.

Работы, продолжавшиеся со дня прибытия в Дуньхуан 20 августа 1914 г. до 26 января 1915 г., всего шесть месяцев, пришлось прекратить из-за начавшейся Первой мировой войны. Экспедиция вернулась в Петербург. Однако за этот короткий срок ею проделаны работы огромного объема.

Сняты планы всех пещер, составившие сводный план, и панорама обрыва со входами в пещеры и наружными строениями. Добавлено несколько пещер, у Пельо неучтенных. Составлено подробное описание пещер и всего их содержимого с учетом колорита —— Ольденбург предполагал на основе описаний выделить школы живописи и скульптур и найти основы для датировок. Это описание до сих пор не публиковалось даже по частям, хотя полевые записи были расшифрованы и с них снята машинописная копия, предназначавшаяся для печати, еще в конце 30-х годов——работа велась Е.Г. Ольденбург, вдовой С.Ф.Ольденбурга, скончавшегося в 1934 г., под руководством акад. Ф.И.

Щербатского. Это было первое полное описание пещер (П. Пелбо оставил свои заметки по пещерам Дуньхуана и скопировал многие надписи на стенах пещер, но полного описания пещер у него нет.) Второе, сделанное Се Чжи-лю, относится к 1943 г. (опубликовано в 1957 г.), третье. Дуньхуанской Академии, —— к 70-м гг. (напечатано в 1982 г.)

К описаниям примыкают дневники участников экспедиции —— можно думать, что Ольденбург установил правило: каждый участник экспедиции должен вести свой дневник, что поможет впоследствии свести наблюдения воедино. Эти дневники до сих пор лишь изредка цитировались по конкретным поводам, но в массе своей еще не расшифрованы Между тем, они добавляют много важных сведений о ходе работ и об обстановке, в которой работала экспедиция. У Дудина есть также записные книжки с зарисовками увиденного быта и типов населения. Описание иллюстрируют изобразительные материалы, по больше части Дудина и Бикенберга. Это, прежде всего, большое количество фотографий (черно-белых, цветная фотография тогда еще не была распространена) —— числом до 2000, т.е. практически зафиксированы все росписи и статуи пещер.

Фотографии дополняются зарисовками маслом общего вида внутренности пещер, принадлежащими кисти Дудина. Благодаря этим зарисовкам легко установить место сфотографированного в каждой конкретной пещере.

С наиболее интересных и типичных объектов снимались кальки (прорисовки), по которым видны подлинные размеры росписей и на которых выявлены контуры фигур и композиций, на фотографиях проступающие не всегда ясно. В тех случаях, когда на росписях встречались пространные посвятительные надписи, они переписаны рукою, видимо, переводчика. Это можно предположить по тому, что копии эти сделаны кистью и написаны искусным уставным почерком кайму. Вряд ли так скопировать мог какой-то из членов экспедиции —— среди них не было ни одного китаиста.

При раскопках песчаного пола пещер было обнаружено много интересного: обрывки рукописей и живописи на шелку, монет, бытовых предметов и т.п. Но особенно важной членам зкспедиции представлялась находка деревянных литер подвижного шрифта древнеуйгурского алфавита. В набросках неоконченного отчета С.Ф. Ольденбурга в числе других предметов записано: “130 деревяшек уйгурского шрифта”. Это открытие —— первый памятник книгопечатания набором, принципиально отличного от традиционного нитайского ксилографического способа печатания — постранично с резных досок. Местонахождение этих “деревяшек” не выяснено, но представление о них можно получить по фотографиям сходных литер в известной книге Т.Ф.Картера “Изобретение книгопечатания в Китае” (1926) и в статье Ю.В.Бунакова в книге “Китай” (Ленинград, 1940).

Наконец, фрагменты живописи и скульптуры, которые были найдены отдленными от своих мест и которым грозила гибель. Ольденбург, как уже было сказано, был решительным противником нарушений целостности древних памятников, но все фрагменты, а также и разрушающиеся или снятые с их мест росписи и статуи тщательно подбирал —— другого способа сохранить их не было.

Таково основное, в общих чертах, содержание коллекций экспедиций С.Ф.Ольденбурга. Все эти материалы входят в данную публикацию(рукописи стоят особняком и публикуются в особой серии 俄藏敦煌文獻),причем публикуются полностью, без сокращений. Дело в том, что представляя собой ценность как предметы искусства и их описания, они имеют еще и историческое значение. Между описанием Ольденбурга и описанием Се Чжи-лю прошло тридцать лет, все эти тридцать лет пещеры подвергались атмосферным и погодным воздействиям, многое в них утрачено или угасло в

результате деятельности людей, как вырезавших фрески и снимавших статуи, так и просто портивших росписи, записывая по красочному слою свои имена в память посещения пещер. Сравнивая три описания (Ольденбург, Се Чжи-лю, Дуньхуанская Академия), можно точно установить, что утрачено за это время и как оно выглядело до утраты.

Можно быть уверенным, что этот новый свод дуньхуанских материалов, в подавляющем большинстве нигде никогда не публиковавшихся; будет встречен научной общественностью и дуньхуановедами всего мира не менее благожелательно, чем уже опубликованные тома сводного издания дуньхуанских текстов, собранных той же экспедицией С.Ф.Ольденбурга.

5/X/1994

Preface

by L. N. Menshikov

The Russian 1914-1915 expedition organized and led by S. F. Oldenburg, ostensibly named Eastern Turkestan Survey Expedition, was in fact a special mission sent to the Caves of Thousand Buddhas - or Mogao Grottoes - in Dunhuang. On the delegation were men capable of all-round investigation to the heritage of ancient culture. Expedition chief Oldenburg himself was an old India hand. A Buddhism specialist well versed in Indian and Buddhist arts, he was also a generally recognized forerunner in the exploration of Central Asia. His chief assistant was painter and photographer S. M. Dudin, who had been with prior expeditions, including the first survey of Turfan and its surrounding oases by Oldenburg in 1909-1910, and whom Oldenburg had found to possess the expertise and enthusiasm required of an explorer. N. A. Smirnov, a hypsographer, was also a member of the first expedition. Others on the mission were V. S. Berkenberg and ethnologist B. F. Romberg. Extant data demonstrate that the chief task of this expedition was to study the remnants of ancient arts, catalogue them and do textual research.

Towards the last phase of this expedition, the delegation won tremendous acclaim thanks to its collection of large volumes of literature. It was these voluminous manuscripts that drew the attention of researchers, among whom were K. K. Flug, the descriptive cataloguing group headed by Menshikov, L. Chukuyevsky, E. T. Zograf (Zuo Yilin), E. S. Gurevich. M. E. Demedova, foreign specialists Zheng Zhenduo, Akira Fujieda, Daro Yamamoto, Pan Chonggui, and Paul Demiérlle, who had been to St. Petersburg and who had all earlier learned of such a collection. Therefore, to maximize public acquaintance with the data of the survey expedition now kept in St. Petersburg is to record, study and publish these Dunhuang manuscripts. As a lead, the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House and the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences have jointly photolithographed all the Dunhuang manuscripts specially kept in St. Petersburg. Up to the present, the first five volumes have been published.

When the Russian Eastern Turkestan Survey Expedition returned to St. Petersburg, they divided their finds into halves. The manuscripts were transferred to the Asia Museum (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences) for its safe keeping, while the art treasures, hypsographical and ethnological data, records and diaries on field survey were respectively deposited in the Russian Art Museum, the Ethnological Museum, and the Geographic Society. Subsequent transfers, however, resulted in their concentration at the State Hermitage Museum, where they are now kept. Nevertheless, no complete collections of originals have been published up till now, neither has a corpus of catalogues been put out. Papers by N.

V. Jakonova, M. N. Krechetova, M. L. Ptchelina (Rudova) only touched on individual items of these collections, and their articles were not many in number.

The aim of this album, jointly compiled by the State Hermitage Museum and the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, and published by the latter, is, with the complete publishing of the literature as the start, to continue publicizing the comprehensive materials provided by the Oldenburg expedition. To pinpoint the great significance of this publishing to Dunhuang Studies, it is necessary to dwell briefly on the general planning and survey methodology of the said expedition.

As was stated by Oldenburg himself, his endeavor was not for "genuine display purposes" – solely collecting exhibits for the museums – for that would often bring damage to the totality of the historic sites or wreck individual remains of such sites. At academic conventions in their various forms, Oldenburg had repeatedly protested against the behavior of this kind. He also believed that comprehensive studies must be conducted with regard to ancient relics, that consideration should be paid to its totality and all its details, not just selecting some part to suit the taste of the researcher. It was on these two assertions that the general planning of the expedition was based. Prior to Oldenburg, Dunhuang had already been visited by British, French and Japanese expeditions led by Mark Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, and Kazui Otani respectively, but only Pelliot carried out a comprehensive survey of the grottoes. His team took a large number of photographs, meticulously copied the works of art, mapped the general layout of the grottoes, and for the first time numbered the caves. In addition, Pelliot, an outstanding Sinologist of his time, copied many an inscription relevant to the history of the grottoes. In methodology of his activities, Oldenburg most closely resembled that of Pelliot. As they were acquainted with each other, no sooner had Pelliot finished his exploratory work, with his first batch of materials not yet published, than Oldenburg came to know the results of the Frenchman's exploration. All this explains why Oldenburg regarded his work as the continuation of Pelliot's efforts, and why he adopted Pelliot's numbering of the grottoes.

The plan for the expedition's move was a grandiose one. They did a general layout of the caves without the slightest leak of specifics, a technical description of the grottoes (shape and size) and content descriptions (murals, statues, architectural details). They excavated the surface of the caves for relics, drew the entire scene of the grottoes, photographed the caves' interior and did carbon drawing (perspective drawing) of the most important targets. It was noteworthy that the plan made no mention of dismantling, cutting and removal of the murals or statues, which the other expeditions shamelessly did. This was by no means ostentation. Just like what we observed at the Hermitage Museum, the collections by the Oldenburg expedition were either deteriorating artifacts due to antiquity, or works of art with damage caused by human factors. If these materials had not been taken away by the expedition, they still might have disappeared of themselves for ever.

The exploratory work commenced on August 20, 1914 – the day the mission arrived at Dunhuang – and continued to January 26, 1915, covering six months in all. Owing to the outbreak of the First World War, the exploration was cut short and the expedition returned to St. Petersburg. Even so, the expedition team had completed a great amount of work, including:
Drawing of plane figures of all the caves to contribute to a general layout;

Depictions of a panorama of precipices with entrances to the grottoes and buildings outside the caves;
Supplementing materials which Pelliot failed to find out; and
Detailed descriptions of grottoes, including statistics of their colors.

In doing these, Oldenburg intended to differentiate, on the strength of these descriptions, the schools of these murals and statues so as to find evidence of their age. This record has so far remained unpublished, though records of explorations have been identified, and a duplicate of a typewritten copy for printing purposes had been made as long ago as the 1930s. Oldenburg passed away in 1934, and his work was taken over by his widow E. G. Oldenburg and accomplished under the auspices of Academician F. E. Sherbatsky. This was the first complete description of the grottoes. Although Pelliot had written down notes and copied the annotations on the murals, which could not be regarded as complete catalogues of the caves. The second one was written by Xie Zhiliu in 1943 (published in 1957) and the third was completed by the Dunhuang Academy in the 1970s (published in 1982).

Combination of the diaries and records of the expedition members led to the assumption that Oldenburg had regulated diaries being kept by each and every member so that they could later be combined for study. The diaries have only been occasionally quoted for specific reasons, and a large amount of things written have not yet been deciphered. Nevertheless, these diaries augmented materials concerning the process of the work by the expedition and their work surroundings. Dudin kept some books of brief notes attaching sketches of humans and pictures relating to local conditions and customs. The illustrations for the modeling materials of the descriptions were mostly provided by Dudin and Bakenbauer. Mainly in the form of photographs (all black and white, as color photos were as yet non-dominant), which numbered over two thousand*, they were actual records of the wall paintings and statues in the caves.

Dudin also did panoramic sketch oil painting of the caves to make up for the insufficiencies of the photographs. Thanks to these paintings it is now easy to locate each photograph in its proper position in the cave. Moreover, carbon copies were made of the most elegant and most significant targets to demonstrate the pictures' original breadth, the outlines of the images and structures, which were indistinct if viewed directly from the photographs. Where there appeared on the murals inscriptions attributed to lengthy granted titles, they would have them handwritten down. The copiers are believed to have been anonymous Chinese as the inscriptions were written with Chinese brushes and were calligraphically in skilled neat regular script. The undertaking could not have been done by any of the members of the expedition, as there were no Sinologists among them.

Numerous important finds were made when the sandy surfaces of the caves were dug. The unearthed artifacts included scrolls or their fragments, coins and articles of daily use. Members of the mission attached special importance to their discovery of the types of writings by the ancient Uighur people. The unfinished preliminary script of the expedition work report by Oldenburg also gave mention to 130 sentences in the Uighur writing. Such a piece of writing is fundamentally different from the traditional Chinese block engraving printing, and the antiquities found by Oldenburg's mission are the earliest samples of type printing. Although, regretfully, we have no notion where these wooden types are now preserved, such types can be seen in the eminent T. F.

Carter's *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* published in London in 1925. U. B. Byunakov's article in the Russian edition of *Anthology of Theses on China* (1940) also carried pictures of such.

Finally, it should be mentioned that all remnants of the paintings and sculptures, facing danger of destruction, were individually picked up from their original sites. As mentioned above, Oldenburg resolutely opposed sabotaging the totality of antiquities, but he also carefully picked up all the remnants of wall paintings and statues, which fell off from their original places, as there were no other ways to preserve them.

These are what the main activities of the Oldenburg expedition were. All these data are collected into this publication (the manuscripts have been separately published in a special volume entitled *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections*), and now published unabridged. The point is, all of them are highly valuable works of art, and the descriptive catalogues are also of great worth and historical significance. While many of them have been damaged, or have disappeared owing to human factors, such as cutting out of the murals, removal of the statues, scribbling of "So-and-so has been here on a visit", etc. By comparing the four recordings by Pelliot, Oldenburg, Xie Zhiliu and the Dunhuang Academy, one can correctly determine what have been damaged during the intervals and their conditions before their damage.

It can be said that this new edition of Dunhuang materials, the majority of which hitherto unpublished elsewhere, will win the appreciation of the academic circles and experts on Dunhuang Studies worldwide, no less than other volumes of Dunhuang literature collected by the Oldenburg expedition.

October 5th, 1994

Translated from the Chinese text by Huang Songlin

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* 800-odd in all as checked and sorted out on site in 1993-1994 by a work team of Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House.

Preface

by Fu Xianzhan

1. Dunhuang and the Silk Road

The largest landmass on earth is called Eurasia. Through numerous wars and intervals of peaceful co-existence and sometimes by the use of force and sometimes by other means, the peoples living in this part of the world have in history undergone extensive interchanges. And this has had a great impact on the development of their respective national cultures and has contributed to the emergence of the two great civilizations of Europe and Asia. As early as the 10th century B. C., as the legendary stories about King Mu of the Zhou Dynasty (11th – 7th century B. C.) and the Fairy Mother Goddess (Xi Wang Mu) go, the Chinese nation had already extended their activities to the "Kunlun Mountains" (the Altay Mountains today) and the upper reaches of Syr Darya. In the 5th century B. C., Greek historians had made mention of spun silk fabrics and silk goods. According to the conclusions of some scholars of art history, the film-like garments on many ancient Greek sculptures should be a representation of silk fabrics, indicating that by that time silk, which was a unique Chinese invention, had already reached the Mediterranean. And the names for China used by some countries to its west such as Greece, Rome, Persia or even India almost all have something to do with silk. In the Han Dynasty (206 B. C. – A. D. 220), Zhang Qian was sent as an emissary to what were then known as the Western Regions. And this sending of a diplomatic mission by the government no doubt contributed to the broadening of China's understanding and vision of the world beyond its western borders. In the 3rd century of our era, peoples living to the west of China learnt the use of stirrups from the Chinese, as a result of which the vast, boundless grasslands to the north became then the scene of action of hordes of mounted men and women galloping far and wide for military exploits or simply for meeting with each other. In the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 618 – A. D. 907), China began to establish military agricultural colonies in Central Asia for the development of its western borders and this gave a great impetus to the expansion and flowering of mutual exchange between China proper and the Western Regions. In the course of tens of centuries, camel caravans followed one another along this international route between China on the West Pacific Coast and the Mediterranean, carrying to and fro loads of silk goods, gems, spices and other valuables of the east and the west, witnessing silently the turn of the seasons in the oases and finally giving rise to the beautiful name of the Silk Road.

The Silk Road in its broadest sense includes the following routes from Luoyang or Chang'an in China via northern Shanxi and the Great Bend of the Yellow River to today's Ulaan Baatar and further west over the Altay Mountains to Central Asia – this is known as the Grassland Route.

From Sichuan Province to today's Baoshan in Yunnan Province and further into Burma and the south of Asia – this is known as the South-bound Route. A sea route along the coast of the East China Sea and the South China Sea through the Strait of Malacca to India, Iran and finally Alexandria in Egypt. But the most important of the routes was the one known as the Route to the Western Regions which began in the city of Chang'an and, after striking west through the Gansu Corridor, forked into three separate routes: the Northern Route that climbed over the Tianshan Mountains and followed its northern foothills to the Altay Mountains and further to the steppes of southern Russia; the Middle Route that passed through Kuruktag and ran on along the southern foothills of Tianshan Mountains and, striking west along the northern skirts of the Taklimakan Desert, climbed over what is now known as the Ridge of Asia; and the Southern Route that ran west along the northern foothills of the Altun Mountains and the Kunlun Mountains lying south of the desert to converge with the Middle Route at Kaxgar.

The so-called Route to the Western Regions was throughout the centuries the longest of the ancient routes and the one most impregnated with history and culture, the culture of China, of India, of Iran, of West Asia, of Egypt and to some extent of the Graeco-Roman world. In its eastern section, the town of Dunhuang dominated strategically over the two passes of Yumen and Yangguan and, so to say, stood guard over all the three routes of the Silk Road, extending China's control west to the ancient Kingdom of Loulan, north to the Huns of Juyan, west to today's Tibet and linking all of them up with Lanzhou and Chang'an to the east by way of the Gansu Corridor. Being, according to historical records, "a metropolis where the Chinese and the barbarians meet and mingle", Dunhuang was in ancient times an important communication hub and a center of cultural interchange.

The world-renowned Mogao Caves of Dunhuang were first carved out in the 4th century of our era (A. D. 366) and it was not until some ten centuries later, in the 14th century, that efforts to dig new ones came in the main to an end. There were altogether over 400 caves with over 2000 painted clay sculptures inside the caves and murals spreading over 45,000 sq m of cave walls. Today, the Mogao Caves form literally a treasure-house of international art where one sees the influence of Ajanta, the School of Gandhara and the School of Mathura of India, Bamiyan of Central Asia, the Sasanian culture of Persia and also traces of the artistic influence of Greece and Rome. However, all these influences have been assimilated into the fertile native soil of Chinese art. Started in the Dynasty of Jin (A. D. 265 – A. D. 420), the art of the Mogao Caves attained its acme of development in the dynasties of Sui (A. D. 581 – A. D. 618) and Tang (A. D. 618 – A. D. 907) and declined gradually in Ming (A. D. 1368 – A. D. 1644) and Qing (A. D. 1618 – A. D. 1911). Nevertheless, as the caves were located in dry climate in an environment far from the hustle and bustle of mundane life, they have retained to this day, mutely and unostentatiously, some of their bygone glories.

Today, it is the Mogao Caves that alone can and must play the role of providing the necessary footnotes to the cultural significance of the ancient Silk Road and the sites adjacent to it. With their unique grotto structures, sculptures and paintings, and ancient manuscripts, they alone can tell us stories of what had once happened in history in olden times.

On June 22 of 1900, a secret vault containing Buddhist scriptures was accidentally discovered in one of the caves. Following on the scent, Aurel Stein, a British man of Hungarian descent, came

and carried away, after paying small bribes to some local officials, 24 boxes of manuscripts and 5 boxes of paintings, embroideries and other works of art. In 1914, he came again and obtained another five boxes of hand-written scrolls. In March of 1908, the French Sinologist and Orientalist Paul Pelliot got hold of probably the most valuable of all the treasures in the caves of Dunhuang. He carted them away in more than 10 boxes containing in all over 6,000 pieces. Although in August of 1909 the Ministry of Education of the Qing Imperial Government had issued an order by telegraph to the Governor of Shaanxi and Gansu to the effect that the manuscripts, sculptures and tablets in the Thousand Buddha Caves be checked and catalogued and not on any account be sold to foreigners, still, in October of 1911, two Japanese nationals, Z. Tachibana and Yoshikawa Oichro, who were dispatched by Otani Kozui of Ni Shi Hon Gan Ji of Kyoto, came and obtained large numbers of valuable written manuscripts and cultural relics. Then, in 1914, a group of Russian explorers led by S. F. Oldenburg of the Russian Academy of Science visited Dunhuang and collected from the Mogao Caves and also bought from the local people over 10,000 manuscripts and works of art. Finally, in 1923, Langdon Warner of the United States came and not only seized in a wanton way what he could lay his hand on in the caves but went so far as to strip some murals off the cave walls. As a result, the bulk of manuscripts and treasures once cached in the Secret Scripture Vault aforementioned of Dunhuang were lost and scattered among a number of foreign countries.

In this book are now collected all the art relics which S. F. Oldenburg and his colleagues had collected from Dunhuang on their second expedition to Xinjiang in 1914 – 1915, together with all the written and graphic records they had collected and made at the time.

2. Origins of the Dunhuang Art Relics in Russian Collections and the Work of the Russian Expedition

S. F. Oldenburg had been in Xinjiang during 1909 – 1910 visiting some of the historic sites there, as leader of the first Russian expedition. On their second expedition, they set as their major objectives: "Making a comprehensive description and study of the historic relics of the Mogao Caves (Thousand Buddha Caves) in Dunhuang county of Gansu Province, and 'searching for accurate evidence and data that may help in dating Buddhist art and ancient relics in China proper and Xinjiang and collecting as much evidence as possible in order to make an analysis of the distinctive characteristics of the unique style of each period of that art.'" Oldenburg, who first got the idea of organizing such an expedition, was an eminent scholar of Buddhist art and of the ancient history, art and national culture of Central Asia in general and of Russian Central Asia in particular. He was one of the few scholars in the world of his time that had true expertise in the historic relics and ancient texts of Central Asia. Accompanying him on the expedition were C. M. Dudin, his close aide who had joined him on the first expedition of 1909 – 1910 too as an artist and photographer, the artist B. C. Bikenburg, surveyor-cartographer N. A. Smirnov who was also on the first expedition, ethnologist B. F. Romberg, 10 assistants and a Chinese interpreter. The expedition led by Oldenburg arrived at Dunhuang on August 20, 1914. "The work of making descriptive records of what there was in each cave began on August 24, 1914 and ended on November 25 of the same year.... After that, detailed study of the decorative murals in the caves began, along with the taking of pictures, copying on overlays, drawing sketches and what not." As to the gathering of relics of art and manuscripts, "the Oldenburg expedition had discovered in the course of digging among the heaps of rubble in the caves and sorting them out

not only broken fragments of ancient works of art but also a large quantity of damaged written manuscripts. With great care, Oldenburg tried to collect these things together. In addition, he had successfully obtained from among some local residents large numbers of damaged scrolls and nearly 200 written manuscripts that could be called intact more or less."

According to L. N. Menshikov, "the bulk of the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch was brought back by the Russian expedition to Xinjiang of 1914 – 1915 led by Academician Oldenburg. Some written manuscripts were brought back by the expedition to Turfan of 1909 – 1910. In addition, the collection also includes things written in Chinese that were brought back by the S. Ye. Malov expedition to (Hotan)Yutian and the P. K. Kozlov expedition to Khara-khoto, both during 1906 – 1909, along with the written manuscripts obtained by N. N. Krotkov in 1909 – 1910 while he was Russian consul general in today's Urumqi. All the above-mentioned objects have become the property of the Museum of Asia (today's Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch) since the respective return of those expeditions. Unfortunately, almost no record is left as to how the things were catalogued and stowed away for safekeeping and there is no accurate number of the written manuscripts handed over by each collector." What Menshikov referred to here were only the written manuscripts obtained respectively by the several expeditions. As to how the art relics were come by, here is what Maria L. Ptchelina (Rudova) has to say in the "Preface" to the present book: "the main part was acquired in July of 1930 and November of 1931 from the Peter the Great Ethnological Museum of the Academy of Science of the former U.S.S.R, while most of the fragments and relics of paintings on silk or paper were received in February, 1977 from the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad Branch, of the Academy of Science of the former U.S.S.R."

Over the decades, Russian specialists have been making serious and fruitful studies of the above-mentioned materials and made great efforts to protect and preserve them. If it is agreed that after the visits by the Stein expedition and the Pelliot expedition and after the order issued by the central government in Peking (Beijing today) to the effect that what remained in the Secret Scripture Vault at Dunhuang be all shipped to the capital, all that the 1914 Russian expedition could get hold of by digging up in the rubble and by obtaining individual objects here and there in other ways were only broken pieces and stray fragments, then we can imagine what enormous and hard labor was involved in preserving, piecing together and studying those fragments of evidence and data. It is often the case that a complete picture had to be re-created by putting together scores of tiny fragments and this was only made possible by relying on expertise in iconography and on the technology of art restoration. During the siege by Nazi Germany in WWII, there were scholars that fell and died from starvation before these very cultural relics, including K. K. Flug who was the first man to try to catalogue the Dunhuang documents. Such deep love as shown by him and others for the cultural heritage of mankind and in particular for the art treasures unique to China has won them great respect and admiration from the common people and will continue to do so.

3. A Summary of the Evidence and Data Collected by the Russian Expedition in the way of Dunhuang Art Relics

The cultural relics of Dunhuang pertaining to the time from the dynasty of Northern Wei (A. D. 386 – A. D. 534) to the Yuan Dynasty (A. D. 1206 – A. D. 1368) are of incomparable cultural

value. Compared with what can still be found today at the Mogao Caves, the relics taken away by the various expeditions of foreign countries may mostly be called irreplaceable treasures. Although what the Russian expedition had obtained was sometimes fragmentary or incomplete evidence, yet in terms of their significance for iconography and bibliographical work of art and other treasures, the evidence and data collected could still give scholars working in these fields a pleasant surprise.

The evidence and data collected by the Oldenburg expedition in 1914 by means of photography, survey and drawing, and written description provide much useful background information about the relics and much first-hand record of what things were like more than 80 years ago. With the passage of time and owing to the vicissitudes of nature and human history, this collection of evidence and data has acquired increasing scientific significance in tracing the origins of the relics and in our efforts to study and preserve the existing caves. To have this collection of evidence and data published in full answers an objective need in academic work and is in line with the traditional practice of publishing their finds among archaeologists worldwide, including scholars of Dunhuang studies. It also reflects the common wishes and hopes of both Russian and Chinese scholars working in this field.

Below is a category-by-category descriptive account of the evidence and data collected in this book.

3.1 Description and Commentary of the Caves of Mogao

This was the principal task of the Oldenburg expedition and this fact alone, according to Russian scholars, provides important evidence that this expedition is different from others whose main aim was to seize valuable relics. On the basis of the written notes and graphic data pertaining to the caves, we realize that in terms of the professional competence of the members and their organization, the depth and scope of the study and investigation done, the application of new technologies and the final results gained, the expedition's work, professionally speaking, was as good as could be achieved under the conditions of scientific research then prevalent.

The records left by Oldenburg about the caves were checked and sorted out in a conscientious manner by his wife E. G. Oldenburg and her collaborators in 1938 who had all the records typed out and who put in before the description and commentary on each numbered cave a newly sketched plane figure of the cave. The typed manuscript consists in all of over 1240 pages. In Oldenburg's own words: "These descriptive records of the murals and sculptures in the Thousand Buddha Caves aim at providing as complete a picture as possible of all the murals and sculptures, mainly from the angle of artistic conceptualization and style." "It is our belief that to test the validity of our conclusions it is necessary to make available as far as we can to those who have not had an opportunity to visit the Thousand Buddha Caves all the evidence and data we have gathered. And we'd think that these written records, as well as the coloured drawings, tracings and imitations, photographs and figures, could provide adequate and reliable evidence and data for the purpose we have set for ourselves." "We have assumed as our very task the making of descriptions of these caves and sorting them out in a chronological order. Doubtless, owing to the lack of materials for making a comparative study it is likely that we will have made some mistakes in identifying certain of the dates. The reason why we have identified things as dating from the Wei, the Tang, the Song (A. D. 960 – A. D. 1279) or the Ming (A. D. 1368 – A. D. 1644)

Dynasty is to use a relatively definite time concept to indicate the transition and continuity in the development of the artistic styles of the murals and sculptures. In spite of the likelihood of mistakes, we still expect that the dates we have identified are in the main correct and that there are no serious mistakes in the chronological order." It is most probable that, as Oldenburg said, the conclusions reached by the expedition in regard to the murals and sculptures are "in the main" correct although there may have been a few errors. This is very likely the case, especially in the light of the fact that the study of Dunhuang documents and works of art worldwide has made big strides in the past 80 years and more.

Until today, descriptions and commentaries that have been published on the grotto art of Dunhuang include the following. There is Xie Zhiliu's *Introduction to Dunhuang Cave Arts* of 1957. The strength of this book lies in the fact that there is relatively detailed information about location and measurements and about the inscriptions on the murals so that it can serve a dual function: both as a catalogue and as a source of data of donor inscriptions. In addition, the book also contains data and information about the West Thousand Buddha Caves, the Yulin Caves and Shuixiakou. For a long time, there were no new catalogues to replace it. Then in 1982, the Research Institute of Dunhuang Cultural Relics published *A General Catalogue of the Contents of the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang*. On the basis of this book, the Dunhuang Academy published in 1996 an enlarged and revised edition entitled *A General Catalogue of the Contents of the Dunhuang Caves*, which incorporates the latest and most important achievements in Dunhuang studies. And this second book is accurate and complete in setting forth and cataloguing the contents of the caves, although the format of the book makes it impossible to provide more detailed descriptions. From 1981 to 1992, the six volumes of written notes of Paul Pelliot scribbled from February to May of 1908 in which he described what was in the caves numbered 1-182 in his own numbering system, were successively published. Two Chinese scholars, Geng Sheng and Tang Jianbin had them translated into Chinese and published under the Chinese title of *Bo Xi He Dun Huang Shi Ku Bi Ji (Pelliot's Written Notes of Dunhuang Grottoes)* with *Ti Ji He Bi Hua (Inscriptions and Murals)* as subtitle. In his notes, Paul Pelliot "made descriptions of the caves, tried to date the caves and the murals and gave explanations of the inscriptions", reaching in this work a comparatively high or near perfect standard of professionalism. Since Oldenburg made his trip after or as a direct result of exchanging views with Pelliot, his notes on the caves were without doubt influenced or inspired by the latter. Oldenburg's descriptions and commentaries covered the same caves numbered 1-171 in Pelliot's system, with supplementary data and information about some side caves. Aside from detailed descriptions of the caves, Oldenburg added sectional drawings and sketch maps of locations which to a certain extent filled the gaps in Pelliot's *Notes*, Xie Zhiliu's *Introduction* and the *General Catalogue* of the Dunhuang Academy. Oldenburg's notes were made in 1914, six years after Pelliot wrote his, but they are only now published for the first time. Although they are now a work of immutable history, the scientific value of the notes has not in any way diminished with the passage of time.

3.2 Elevation Drawings and Plane Figures

Using Pelliot's elevation drawings and plane figures as a basis, Oldenburg's expedition planned and scheduled the progress of its own work, making additions and revisions as required. Equipped with modern ideas of integrated and comprehensive survey and for the sake of greater precision, members on the expedition conducted detailed surveys and made detailed drawings of each cave in turn. Finally, the drawings of individual caves were pieced together to be re-drawn into an

overall plane figure and an overall elevation drawing, each amounting to something about 10 meters long and 1.6 meters high in size. Since the Mogao Caves are arranged roughly in four tiers, there are now eight large scrolls of such drawings. Anyone facing such a stupendous accomplishment, so all-inclusive and so meticulous, could not help but feel as if he/she was there on the scene in person too. In the drawings is preserved evidence and data of the geographical features (including the runs of the sand hills and the veins on the cliffs) and of the state of development of human culture (such as the architectural structures and the inscribed boards before the caves) as seen in the year 1914. Even a cursory comparison between the survey drawings of that time and the appearance of the Mogao Caves today would reveal vast differences between the two. For instance, the outer protective structure of the No. 96 Cave, the so-called "Five-Storeyed Pavilion", was destroyed in an earthquake in the 1920s and replaced by a "Nine-Storeyed Pavilion" in the restoration done in 1936. Hence the true appearance of such a landmark structure of the Mogao Caves and of many other protective structures of the caves existing then can now only be found in the old pictures and the survey drawings done in the past. For another example, early in the 20th century, many of the entryways of the caves had crumbled down, exposing the murals and niches for idols to the elements and burying a large part of the lowest tier of caves in sands and rubble and decayed timber. Today, this old look has changed completely. Hence, even from the vantage point of today, Oldenburg's survey and the drawings the expedition had made can be considered as a most comprehensive and useful achievement. We are also justified in saying that the changes that have occurred in the external appearance of the scene in the past 80 years or so have pointed up the value of Oldenburg's survey drawings of the caves as historical evidence and a source of information of practical use.

3.3 Photographs of the Interior and Exterior of the Caves

The expedition took large numbers of pictures of the exterior and interior of the caves, totalling according to original oral reports or records (missing at this writing) some 2,000 photographs in all. But after making an actual count, we find that what has survived, including 8 in. format and 12 in. format glass negatives and nearly all the pictures printed off them and other negatives minus the duplicates, totals only a little over 800 pictures and some of the negatives of these pictures are missing. Not included in this number are pictures of the exterior of caves shot by small hand-held cameras as those are classified as mementos of the journey. Although many photographs are lost or damaged in the course of the long decades and the actual number of existing ones has been much reduced, what has survived is still considerable in number, as compared with the 300 and more pictures in the six volumes of *The Thousand Buddha Caves of Dunhuang* published by Paul Pelliot between 1920 and 1924. In the photographs can be seen the surrounds of many of the caves, the exposed murals in the collapsed entryways, the outer protective structures, the interior of caves, details of murals and sculptures, etc. All these present a comprehensive picture of the caves in the early years of the present century.

3.4 Tracings and Imitation Drawings

In regard to the murals in the caves, we owe it mainly to N. A. Smirnov for the more than 260 tracings and the more than 120 coloured imitation drawings we have now. In addition, C .M. Dudin did a small number of what perhaps could be called quick oils.

In doing tracing, the original painting is covered by a semi-transparent sheet of paper on which the lines in the original are traced and the same colours applied. Some of the tracings were most

carefully and delicately done, showing a good understanding of the original and superb artistic skills, as witness the fact that some of the hardly distinguishable lines in the original were also represented. These tracings are actually not just exact replicas. Where the pigments in the original had faded or flaked off and where the lines had blurred, the artist had to use his own imagination and power of abstraction to have them restored. Hence they are in a sense more true to the original and provide important basic evidence for us now to analyse the images and other graphic representations. Some of the tracings cover a whole wall, presenting before us the magnificent and imposing style and force of the original mural. As an accomplished scholar of Buddhist history, Oldenburg, together with artist-photographer Dudin, knew how to make good use of their expertise in selecting what to copy. For instance, in a Yuan Dynasty cave, there was an image of Avalokitesvara giving out alms. Being an image not included in the 33 common images of the Avalokitesvara, it was copied in whole. The copies of the portraits of Bodhisattvas and the pictorial illustrations to parables in the scriptures are often true reflections of the typical composition, style and technique of their age.

Owing to the conditions of the time, it was impossible for the members on the expedition to use coloured film to record the gorgeously coloured original paintings and scenes. But as artist-archaeologists, they were very much aware of the difficulty of protecting the murals and in especial the colours. The large numbers of imitation paintings in gouache and oils provide evidence and data that are almost as good as the original for research purposes and for the purpose of preservation. The gouaches were done mainly for the purpose of recording the figures and ornamental designs and the quick oils on their part made an accurate record of the colour scheme or colour combination of a whole cave or wall. These detailed records of visual images would make it easier for Oldenburg to make more accurate analyses in dating the caves.

3.5 Inscriptions on Cave Murals

The Oldenburg expedition copied a large number of the inscriptions on the murals in the caves, mostly from those numbered P.140, P.171 etc. in Pelliot's numbering system. Pelliot had done inscriptions-copying in his notes mostly from the same caves too. There seems, however, a kind of tacit agreement between them. Pelliot had concentrated on inscriptions by the donors, stories of the coming true of prophecies and magical powers, secular matters or even the " So and so is here" of different ages. He paid particular attention to inscriptions in Sogdian, Uighur, Khotanais and Mongol and often added the note: "To be photographed". But what Oldenburg and his team copied down were often complete inscriptions of a literary nature such as those accompanying illustrated parables from Sūtra of Vimalakīrti, Saddharma-pundarika or life of Buddha. It is not improbable that "Oldenburg looked upon his own work as a continuation of that of Pelliot", for this was a good or the only justification for Oldenburg's having chosen to work the way he did and this gave his work a value independent of that of others. For instance, in Pelliot's notes on Cave P.167 there is the entry: "There is one more inscription (that needs looking at again), namely: "Supreme Abbot in charge of Vinaya", but the quotation stops there and is not complete. In Oldenburg's notes we find then: "Supreme Abbot of the Buddhist Faith in Shazhou Monk of the Golden Bright Temple Abbot..." This probably could satisfy Pelliot's wish to look at the inscription again. For another instance, both Pelliot and Oldenburg have jotted down the inscription in Cave P.140 and Pelliot's quotation is longer than that of Oldenburg. But in terms of the accuracy in identifying the words, each of the two quotations has its own strengths and weaknesses and the work of each could well complement that of the other. While writing down his quotations of the

inscriptions on the illustrated parables from Buddhist scriptures, Oldenburg had enlisted the help of some Chinese scribes in order to avoid mistakes which might have been made as a result of inadequate knowledge of the Chinese language. Furthermore, the copy work was checked and rechecked to make sure that nothing was left out and that everything was accurately done.

In the book entitled *Donors' Inscriptions in the Mogao Caves* compiled by the Dunhuang Academy, the quotations of inscriptions in the first three volumes of Pelliot's notes are published after emendation as many of the inscriptions in the caves are no longer legible now. For those inscriptions on pictorial illustrations to parables from Buddhist scriptures that are no longer legible, we might draw our conclusions with the help of what has been copied down by the Oldenburg expedition.

3.6 Journals and Pictures of the Journey

According to L. E. Scachikov, "the route chosen by the expedition was Tacheng(Qoqek)– Qitai – Urumqi – Anxi – Hami – Thousand Buddha Caves of Dunhuang and after this, by rounding Dunhuang, returned to Hami via Hongliuyuan." The expedition has left us an incomplete itinerary of the journey and a list of the names of those places where they had camped. Many of the places named and apparently in existence then can no longer be located today. What is still intact are the journals kept by Oldenburg and Dudin and the latter did many sketches of human figures, scenic sights, folk customs and ancient ruins, either in pencil or in ink. On their way, the expedition shot some 500 pictures, on films of the 35 mm format. Often it would seem that on one and the same picture have been printed two almost identical scenes, the reason being that the camera they used was a stereoscopic camera which was then considered a fairly advanced machine. With the passage of time, many of the pictures have been defaced by mold and many shots of immense historical value are thus lost for good. Fortunately, the majority of them have been preserved to this day. In the over 200 pictures published in this book about the journey can be seen scenes of mountains and rivers, ecological conditions and the life of the local people in some places on the route of the expedition in Xinjiang and Gansu in the early years of the century. Of particular importance are pictures of the ancient ruins and remains on the route such as those they had seen in Gaochang, Jiaohe, the Mogao Caves and also pictures which show us the roads, the fortresses and other historic structures. All these are of great practical use to us in studying how these places have gone to ruin, providing evidence for the protection, renovation or restoration of ancient sites. The pictures also truthfully record the scenes of the expedition surveying some ancient ruins and loading and transporting relics.

4. The Characteristics and Special Value of the Dunhuang Art Relics in Russian Collections

The works of art from Dunhuang now in Russian collections include 43 sculptures (or accessories of sculptures), 16 murals, 59 paintings on silk, 78 paintings on hemp cloth or streamers, 36 pieces of handicraft, 24 paintings on paper and 49 fragments of art works. As many of these are reconstructed from fragments or several fragments are considered as one piece of work, the total number is estimated at about 300 pieces altogether.

The art relics mentioned in the preceding paragraph belong to the period of time in Chinese history lasting from the Northern Wei Dynasty (386 – 534) to the Southern Song Dynasty (1127 – 1279). In these works are reflected the mutual influence and interaction between eastern culture

and western culture in a period lasting some 10 centuries, the mingling and mutual acceptance of the national cultures of the Hans, the Xianbeis (Tungus), the Uighurs, the Tibetans, the Dangxiangs (Tangut) and the Mongols, and also the indigenization process of foreign cultures in China.

The Dunhuang art relics in Russian collections mostly have the life of Buddha as their theme, with many of the paintings and sculptures of superb artistic value and of great significance in terms of iconographic studies. The paintings on hemp cloth, streamers and the painted or dyed textiles are of great importance for the study of the development of handicraft technology. These works not only provide good evidence and data for a comparative study with the works of art currently in existence in the Mogao Caves and those of the same origin that are now scattered around the world, but are of great aesthetic and exegetical value in themselves. In the foreword and commentary they respectively wrote for this book, Professor M. L. Ptchelina (Rudova), head of the Oriental Division of the State Hermitage Museum and Professor Lubo-Lesnichenko, an expert on textiles, have provided detailed explanations and what they have said reveals the foci of attention of scholars in the West whose views they may represent. On the other hand, readers in China and elsewhere in the East may share some of their views while having foci of interest of their own.

4.1 Sculptures

The sculptural works, especially the medium-and small-size independent statues of disciples and Bodhisattvas carved in the round or more or less in the same carving style, are typical of the styles and techniques prevalent in the period of time lasting from the Northern Dynasty (386 - 589) through Sui and Tang to the Song Dynasty. The small-size painted clay sculptures in the images of *Maha-kasyapa, Ānanda and Attendant Bodhisattva* (Дx4, 5, 6), which are all about 40 cm in height, are statues of attendants in some small-size niche shrines in Cave 111 and in some others dug in the late Tang or Song Dynasty. They are highly sophisticated representations of the journey of life Maha-kāśyapa as the Number One Dhuta and Ānanda as the Number One Dharni have respectively pursued, one being a kindly and solemn-looking elderly man devoted to the practice of Buddhism and moral perfection and the other an elegant young man not yet completely free from the distractions of the mundane world. As to the Attendant Bodhisattva, it has a lithe and graceful figure and posture and deep, restrained inward feelings. The expressive power of these sculptures, as seen in their close reflection of secular life and portrayal of the inner world of man, has made them models for later fine sculptural works such as the painted clay sculptures of some ladies-in-waiting of the Song Dynasty now standing in Jinci Memorial Temple of Taiyuan in Shanxi Province. Such small-size statues are not only absent in the collections of Britain and France but also extremely rare in today's Mogao Caves.

The two sculptures of the *Beast as guard of laws* (Дx1, Дx2) were taken from Cave 321 of the Mogao Caves, a cave dating back to early Tang, where they had sat flanking the main shrine. In terms of sculptural style and techniques, they are much different from traditional Chinese tomb-guarding animals and the mythical animal known as kylin (Chinese unicorn) in that they display a basically realistic style without the exaggeratedly large heads or bodies seen on similar sculptures of Wei, Jin, Sui or Tang. They have the body of a lion, the facial features of a dog, the tusks of a boar and wings shaped like bird claws with spurs, but they do not have the horns peculiar to herbivorous animals. The two sculptures resemble each other in the main, but are different one from the other in such details as manes, the set of the mouth and teeth, etc. The

differences make the two a match in posture and airs, seemingly in communication with each other, thus imparting a vibrant and lively quality to them. While the techniques used tend towards realism, in iconographical terms they are expressions of certain abstract ideas. Looking full of prowess and indomitable spirit and complete in their towering stature, they are great rarities of art. Being creations of the Tang Dynasty, they bear traces of the characteristics of the Yellow River culture, but basically they are still derived from the leonine beasts of Persia and West Asia.

The sculptural work of ancient Tibet carved in bas relief in mid-Tang Dynasty entitled *Nimbus of Buddha* (Д x 3) is bluish green in colour at the centre and symmetric in design. At the top in the centre is the figure of the Garuda on both sides of which are representational designs of dragon, sheep, white elephant, etc. Such a design is comparatively common among the sculptural works of the esoteric sect of Tibetan Buddhism. But a sample of ornamental design in bas relief as complete and beautiful as this one is not often seen in the world today. Although it is an objet d'art restored after piecing many fragments together, it has been confirmed by experts at the Dunhuang Academy. Belonging originally to a cave hewn out in the northern part of Mogao Caves by some ancient Tibetans, it is as exquisite relic of art the like of which is hard to come by today.

4.2 Murals

Of the murals in the Russian collections, the earliest ones are of the time of Northern Liang (A. D. 397 – A. D. 439) and Northern Wei (A. D. 386 – A. D. 534) of the Sixteen Kingdoms Period. Among these, the best preserved and most noteworthy are the following. A wall painting of Northern Wei known as *Vādya* (Д x 196) with altogether six Gandharvas and Kimnaras. On the side are seven Thousand Buddhas while at the bottom are the portraits of three donor monks. The vivid facial expressions and graceful postures show in a marked way the influence of the artistic style of peoples living to China's west. As the mural was unearthed from under heaps of sand in Cave 263 of Northern Wei where it was located beside the shrine in the front part of the cave wall, it has remained comparatively free from oxidation and thus looks colourful and fresh.

There is a large-format wall painting from the time of Northern Zhou (A. D. 557 – A. D. 581) entitled *Pictorial illustration to the Śyāmaka Sutra* (Д x 197). Here the techniques of using trees or houses to section off episodes in a connected story common in the mural art of India and other countries lying to China's west are adopted, but its original model is most probably the carved stone pictures (hua xiang shi) and carved brick pictures (hua xiang zhuan) of the dynasties of Qin (221 B. C. – 206 B. C.), Han (206 B. C. – A. D. 220), Wei (A. D. 220 – A. D. 265) and Jin (A. D. 265 – A. D. 420) in which hunting is a common theme. Or it may have been inspired by the carved stone picture entitled *The Seven Wise Men of the Bamboo Grove* of the time of the Southern Dynasty (A. D. 420 – A. D. 589). These actually may be regarded as prototypical stories in serial pictures in China.

The mural Pictorial illustration to *the Western Paradise of Amitabha* (Д x 192) of Tang is composed of two wall paintings with beautiful floral ornamental patterns in the Greek style while the Buddhist tracery ornamental patterns on the wall of the Buddhist pond are typical of Tang Dynasty ornamentation. The portrait of the head of the monk (Д x 188), which is probably based on that of Maha-kāśyapa , has a very knowing expression stemming from the awareness of the

evanescence of human affairs and resembles more or less the image of the Baosheng Buddha. The facial features are so executed that you can almost see a three-dimensional look, with reliefs in contrast to hollows and light in contrast to dark and with a skilful, natural combination of delineation and wash, which is apparently a challenge to the traditional technique of "drawing single lines on a two-dimensional plane". In a fragment of a wall painting is painted a man looking like a foreigner with blue eyes and a high-set nose (Д x 190). Also left on this fragment is a corner of the scaly armor worn by the man standing beside the first man. This might be from a wall painting depicting the mourning ceremony of the Nirvana at which many foreign princes are present. The gesture of holding both hands together before the chest is probably the greeting gesture of the time.

4.3 Paintings on Silk

The large-format paintings on silk reflect in a rich variety of ways the social life in different historical ages. Comparatively well preserved is one entitled *Thousand-Armed, Thousand-Eyed, Thousand-Alms-Bowled Mañjuśri* (Д x 205) in which is depicted a scene from a sutra of the Mahayana School (Great Vehicle) translated into Chinese by Monk Bu Kong of Tang. The Bodhisattvas, celestial gods, dragon king, Asuras, etc. are all vivid figures in bright and beautiful colours. Like the portraits of other attendant Bodhisattvas, they are excellent figure paintings of the fine-brushwork genre.

Many depictions of activities in everyday life such as tilling the land, harvesting crops, butchering animals, etc. can be found in the wall paintings at Dunhuang and in those of other collections such as the paintings entitled *Pictorial Illustration to the Maitreya Sūtra*, *16 Kinds of Images* and *the Story of Ajatasatru*. The Tang Dynasty painting on silk known as the *Pictorial illustration to the Maitreya Sūtra* is a large-format painting pieced together with over 30 fragments (Д x 223 and 224) in which are portrayed many of the scenes described in the sūtra such as Yaksa sweeping the ground, Vajra-paṇi guarding laws, etc. What can give us extreme satisfaction is that almost preserved intact is the scene of Brahmana destroying the multi-treasure building. Paintings on a similar theme can be found in murals in mid-Tang Dynasty caves such as Cave 445, but in the present work the painter has departed from classical interpretations and conventional practices by adapting the scenes in the light of social life current in Dunhuang then. The major change is in the use of a vehicle to replace the building. The whole three-storeyed structure is built on a wooden vehicle, suggesting that this could be a representation of what might be compared to today's parade of floats in a magnificent ceremony in the heyday of Buddhism. Known as "xingxiang" in Chinese or portraits on parade, the statues of Buddha, the flags and streamers, the umbrellas and canopies, the temple halls and what not are all carried by a vehicle, marking this folk ceremony in its heyday. Vehicles have also appeared in other pictorial illustrations to parables in sutras, for instance, in Pictorial Illustrations to the Sutra of Tejaprapha Buddha. But there we can see only seats and flags but no buildings. Hence the present painting may also provide important evidence in the study of vehicle making in the period from middle Tang Dynasty to late Tang Dynasty.

4.4 Paintings on Hemp Cloth and on Streamers

Hemp cloth paintings as referred to here include hemp cloth table-front curtains, paintings on a piece of broad oblong hemp cloth on which are the images of Buddha with two Bodhisattvas and donors too and paintings on streamers with a triangular head. On the basis of their shape and

format, it is possible to determine their respective functions and something of their history of development. The table-front curtains were probably used by donors when offering oblations. The phoenixes, wild ducks and children on them (Д x 73 and 74) are done very vividly and expressively. Many of the paintings on broad oblong pieces of hemp cloth portray the whole family of donors. Along the border at the top are a row of two or three straps for use as fasteners when they are hung indoors. In the succeeding generations, paintings of this kind, along with changes in art form in wall paintings, gradually developed into paintings depicting Buddhist masses or rituals held to expedite the transmigration of souls. The large numbers of paintings on streamers were primarily used in "xingxiang" or Buddha Image on Parade. The streamer is generally a long and narrow piece of cloth with a triangular-shaped head that has a strap at the point which is used as a fastener. The paintings on the streamers are of different degrees of intricacy and sophistication, with the differences more marked at the tails and tags of streamers. These different kinds of painted streamers were placed at different positions in a parade, either at the head or at the centre by the side of the main Buddha image or at the rear. Owing to water stains and creases, most of the inscriptions on the streamers have become illegible to the eye now and only partially legible on black and white infrared photos.

4.5 Paintings on Paper

There are two types of paintings on paper, some being ordinary paintings on paper and some being used to begin a Buddhist sūtra with. In the collection of the State Hermitage Museum, there are both kinds while among the documents in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Russia, St. Petersburg Branch, there are a few paper paintings of the latter type. What is entitled the *Female donor* (Д x 242) has all along been regarded as the most beautiful and most representative image of a fine lady of the Period of the Five Dynasties (A. D. 907 - A. D. 960) in Chinese history and consequently has been carefully preserved and protected, the security measures taken being probably as tight as those taken over a young unmarried lady in feudal times. The hair is black, so are the large ornamental patterns on the robe. The black forms a striking contrast to the full and fair face that is marked by animated and expressive features, with the overall effect enhanced by the aristocratic-looking ornament on the head. The aesthetic impact is strong, from an image that is dignified and demure, as well as vivid and lively. What was once considered the painting of a mythical beast or the "Mythical Cat" bears a remarkable likeness to the circular animal masks in the four corners of the painting entitled *Tejaprapha Buddha* in Paul Pelliot's collection. It must be a picture of the constellation (Д x 245) mentioned in the *Sūtra of Tejaprapha Buddha*. The said sutra is used mainly for the purpose of warding off the havoc of war. The present piece, framed in a square delineated in black ink, is an independent painting and not a part of a larger one. It may have been used as a talisman by the people according to a local folk custom. Similar designs have been seen on clay tiles with molded patterns on the facade that were unearthed in China's far west, but here the neck is not coiled round with a pair of snakes, although their use as a talisman for averting disasters is the same. There are two pieces of the portrayal of *Vajrankusahd* (Д x 243 and 244). The former wears the uniform of a Sogdian soldier carrying a sword in hand while the latter has on Chinese civilian clothes with an axe in hand. They are different from the boar-faced, human-bodied Vajrankusahd who holds a three-pronged hook, owing probably to the fact that they are to some extent indigenized. These two paintings on paper contrast sharply with each other in style.

4.6 Printed and Dyed Textiles

The Russian collections of printed and dyed textiles are rich in the sense that there are different varieties and that different technologies were employed in their making. In terms of texture, there are "juan" or thin tough silk, "qi" or fine silk, "ling" or damask, "sha" or gauze, "chou" or pongee, "zhijin" or brocade, cotton cloth, hemp cloth, etc. In technological terms, there are monochromatic dip dyeing, figure painting or dyeing, printing, multi-coloured printing, single-colour lined patterns, silver-dust painting, multi-coloured painting, embroidery, sewing, etc.

The decorative patterns on brocades that were popular from the Caucasus to Central Asia included, in addition to those designs that had originated in China as early as in the Han Dynasty, also those of Persia and the imitation Persian designs of Sogdiana. What are called imitation Persian designs of Sogdiana are themselves of two types: the style of Bokhara and the style of Khorazm respectively. Of these two types, the most representative products came from a village named Zandanina near Bokhara in Central Asia. The Dunhuang art relics in Russian collections boast some examples of painted silk bearing the characteristic woven ornamental patterns found on the brocade called Zandaniji. These are not, of course, brocades, but in the dyeing and printing process the ornamental patterns of Central Asia and Persia were adopted. The *Streamer head with a design of linked cash and flowering tree motif and a pair of deer* (Д x 55), which is comparatively big in format, was printed by rubbing the fabric against a wooden block and the design bears clear signs of the use of the techniques of the art of paper-cut. The *Streamer head with linked cash and peony motif* (Д x 51), which is a polychromatic piece, provides good evidence for making a comparative study with such textile pieces as the Turfan-unearthed brocade piece with design of linked cash, winged horse and tree and another brocade piece with a floral, tree and deer design and the piece of brocade with winged lion and linked cash design (Ch. xlviii) and another piece of brocade with a pair of sheep and linked cash for decoration (Ch. 009), both from Dunhuang and now in the collection of the British Museum. The floral and wild deck design on the fastening strap of the streamer head (Д x 288) is a rather rare Persian-style ornamental pattern for Tang Dynasty brocades.

The craft of "xieran" or figure painting and dyeing has always been a focus of attention in the study of the history of handicraft art. The streamers and samples of hemp cloth in Russian collections provide ample evidence of the techniques used in "xieran", including such technological processes as "jiaxie" or "press together and dip dye", "jiaoxie" or "wring tight and partially dip dye", "laxie" or "wax and dip dye" and "huixie" or "partially cover with dye-proof solution and dip dye" all of whose technical characteristics are clearly and richly displayed. The streamers produced by "jiaxie" (Д x 107, 125 etc.) were made by folding a piece of cloth many times into an equilateral triangle, pressing one side of it between wooden boards and then dipping it in a solution of colouring matter. Thus dyed, the part pressed between the wooden boards which prevented the dye from seeping in remained in the original colour of the fabric so that when unfolded a grid of rhombic patterns in the original colour appeared. Where two undyed rhombs meet, there are visible in the undyed part faintly coloured crosses and this is clear evidence of the use of the "jiaxie" technique. It was generally believed in the past that "jiaxie" was used mostly with thin and light materials, but in the making of the coarse hemp cloth streamers of Dunhuang, the "jiaxie" technology was also applied, providing thus new materials for the study of the craft, and in many of the Dunhuang art relics we can also see the use of multiple, composite technologies, for instance, in the blank, undyed patterns created by the tightly pressed side the further use

of coloured printing by means of relief blocks (Дx 42, 49 and 167) or by means of the technique of hard pressing or even knocking against relief blocks (Дx 286a and Дx 286b. Pay special attention to the lower end of Дx 286b where overlapping in the ornamental patterns is revealed. The *Streamer with a grid of rhombic and floral patterns* (Дx 52) points to the use of a relatively sophisticated "jiaxie" technology. Here the light brown spaces round the rhombic patterns are marked by an unevenly spread wash, indicating the cutting of holes or grooves in the pressing boards to channel the pigments, and the use of the complex technology of multiple colour printing in the undyed spaces. There is also evidence of the use of "jiaoxie" or "wring tight and partially dip dye", for instance, the streamer made of coarse hemp cloth (Дx 110). Before dyeing, it was also folded, but no wooden boards were used to press tight one of the sides as in "jiaxie". However, one side of the folded-up streamer was kept free from the dyeing solution with the result that the piece was only partially dyed and the grid of rhombic patterns thus formed appeared irregular in shape. It seems that the piece was done in this way simply because the people concerned had to do it in a hurry to satisfy some kind of urgent need. Owing to the scarcity of bee wax in northwest China, what is called "laxie" or "wax and dye" was not a common practice in the region. Still, among the Dunhuang relics in Russian collections there are two examples of "juan" textile, with a decorative pattern of sharp-angled rhombs and crosses (Дx 222 a and b). They are comparatively big in size and look similar to the "juan" textile in Stein's collection. As with "laxie", with what is known as the "huixie" technology or "cover partially with a dye-proof solution and then dye", printing blocks with a certain decorative design were first used to apply a dye-proof solution or paste to a piece of material which was then dip-dyed. When the dyeing process was completed, the piece of material was washed and a piece of textile with white patterns on a coloured ground would thus be revealed. The use of "huixie" technology can be seen in the *Streamer with white chrysanthemums on a blue ground* (Дx 56) and the *Streamer tag with white chrysanthemums on a blue ground* (Дx 171), both being highly representative samples of the craft.

Many of the images of the Avalokiteśvara and other Bodhisattvas delineated on blue "juan" silk with silver dust by the so-called iron-wire technique have become so oxidized now as to look completely black, but there is documentary proof of the use of the technique of painting ornamental designs with silver dust. In regard to silk textiles, there are pieces of "ling" or damask with various kinds of woven figures. The piece of "ling" with figured weave of leaf-like patterns discovered by Mr. Lubo-Lesnichenko has never been seen before in the collections of Stein, Pelliot or any other collector. In terms of the texture of the material and the techniques used, the fragment of an embroidered work (Дx 330) looks similar to the *portrait of the Avalokiteśvara holding osier* which has now been identified as a relic found by D. A. Klementz in Turfan, but they are not of one piece. The needlework of the embroidery is characterized by lockstitching the outline with what is known as "bianzixiu" or braided embroidery and by using a single silk thread in embroidering the coloured part and the said silk thread was so handled that every time it came up through the reverse side it passed the middle of the previous stitch. Needlework like this is no doubt more delicate than "bianzixiu". The portrait of the Avalokiteśvara holding osier which is for the first time published in colour here shows many of the characteristics of the portrait of the Madonna which is so familiar in the West, with similarities in looks, gestures and dress. Without the image of Amitabha on top of the head, it would be well-nigh impossible to recognize it as the image of the Avalokiteśvara. If in the first wave of the spread of Buddhism

into China it was the image of Apollo of Greek mythology, somewhat transformed of course, that came to the country by way of India and the art of the School of Gandhara, then in the Tang Dynasty and the Period of the Five Dynasties it was the Avalokiteśvara, the saviour that rose in the East whose image resembled in an indefinable way that of the Madonna, in its Byzantine form, that became a symbol of the continuing cultural interchange of the peoples living along the Silk Road. The present piece is doubtless an object of art of incomparable significance and bears testimony to the cultural fusion between the East and the West.

4.7 Fragments

Since what is published here is the whole of the Russian collections of Dunhuang art relics, necessarily there will be pieces that are seriously damaged in the pictorial part or in texture. However, as they may be of use both as fragments in reconstructing less damaged pictures and as clues to an understanding of the objects in various other collections, they are also included here. The following seems to us to be most noteworthy. The tiny fragment of a painting of animals (Д x 363) which has now been identified as a broken piece of a wall painting of Turfan shows delicately drawn flowers and deer crowded in a small space. It is hard to imagine why a wall painting, which is generally characterized by an extensive scene and aims at achieving a strong aesthetic effect, can carry such minute descriptions. In a fragment of a wall painting of a warrior (Д x 190) is painted the image of a foreign-looking military figure, with blue eyes and high-set nose, which might be a part of a painting of mourning princes. In a group of paper fragments are bits of ancient texts and documents and two seal marks of a Ming Dynasty official stamp (Д x 146) that probably have never been seen elsewhere. A bluish green fragment of a wall painting with a curled grass and peony motif (Д x 191) can fit very well into the nimbus on a portrait of a disciple of Buddha (Д x 188) done in the most prosperous period of the Tang Dynasty. Other fragments of special value include a fragment of a painting on silk in which two women heat up water (Д x 262) and another that depicts the witches in the story of Mara-tarjana (Д x 321). In fact, the reason why some tiny fragments had attracted the attention of the Oldenburg expedition was that they could compel interest in themselves.

A fairly large part of the Dunhuang art objects in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum are similar to or resemble those in the collections of Stein and Pelliot so that they could be placed side by side for a comparative study or for mutual corroboration. There is even the possibility of piecing them together or of using a piece from one collection to complement another. We have discovered two fragments from a painting on silk now entitled *Ornamental design of lotus flowers, flames and peonies* (Д x 168 and Д x 266) that could form a part of the portrait of the *Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara* obtained by Aurel Stein but now housed in the Museum of Delhi of India, being part of the ornamental patterns on the pedestals and lower borders of two Vajra-paṇis. In this way, three relics now separated by a distance of thousands of miles might be pieced together to form a more complete image and the two fragments might thus be dated according to the techniques used, namely, light in contrast to dark. Many of the paintings on streamers or the heads of streamers could be arranged side by side with relics now found in Britain and France to form a more or less complete series. And some singular forms such as double-sided streamer heads, painted silk streamer heads and unusual decorative designs could fill up the missing links in what we possess or know of now. By comparing them one with the other, some of the numbered entries in the catalogues might be combined. All these findings of our research we shall record in our descriptions and commentaries.

5. Publication of the Book and Guidelines for Compilation

5.1 Preparatory Stage

As early as 1989, a delegation consisting of the then director and editors-in-chief of the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, including Wei Tongxian, Qian Bocheng, Li Guozhang and Li Weiguo, was invited to visit the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad Branch, of the Academy of Science of U.S.S.R. (later renamed the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch, of the Russian Academy of Science) and collaborative efforts were thus initiated for the compilation and publication of *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections.* The aforementioned delegation also made an in-depth study of the collection in the State Hermitage Museum of art relics from Xinjiang, Dunhuang and Khara-khoto in China. In the depth of winter in 1991, the Dunhuang group of the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, then working in Leningrad, was authorized to begin negotiations with the curator of the State Hermitage Museum, Dr. M. B. Biotrovsky, on matters relating to the publication in book form of the Russian collections of Dunhuang art relics. A consensus was thus reached on the publication of such a book and many other questions were dealt with such as the composition of the editorial team, the goals and objectives of such a work and a tentative working plan and the terms of a necessary but still tentative agreement. After that, through frequent correspondence between the two sides, more detailed aspects of such a collaboration were worked out and in the summer of 1993, Li Weiguo, vice director of the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, arrived by flight in St. Petersburg and entered into a full week of fast-pace talks with deputy curator G.V.Vilinbahov of the State Hermitage Museum and in the end an agreement was signed and concluded on the publication of the present book. Subsequent to this, after months of intensive work, Fu Xianzhan, Jiang Weisong and Yan Keqin of the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, with the invaluable help of L. N. Menshikov, chief editor on the Russian side, M. L. Ptchelina (Rudova) and L. I. Chuguevski, both deputy chief editors on the Russian side, photographer Vladimir Terebenin and Russian colleagues in the photocopying department and also with the help of Miss Zhang Huiming, a Chinese student in Russia who joined the team as special editor at our invitation, succeeded at last in having a predominant part of the Dunhuang art relics in Russian collections photographed or photocopied. Then in 1994 and 1996, on two successive trips to Russia, we had the Chinese translation of the descriptions and commentaries and other texts originally written in Russian with the Chinese version done jointly by Messrs. Ji Yikun and Wang Kexiao, checked and edited, adding new explanations where necessary and filling what gaps were there in the original materials. In 1995, Mr. Duan Wenjie, director of the Dunhuang Academy, paid a visit to St. Petersburg with a group of colleagues where they made a penetrating study of the art relics in Russian collections and gave their expert opinions. In the same year, Madam Fan Jinshi, deputy director of the Dunhuang Academy, came to Shanghai where she read and scrutinized every one of the photographs we were planning to use in the book together with a major part of the evidence and data originally collected by the Russian expeditions, offering very useful advice on the book. Thanks to the efforts made by both sides and by all those involved in the project, this book was thus made basically ready for publication.

5.2 Verification of Materials

As has been said before, this book aims at presenting the special Dunhuang collection of the 1914 Oldenburg expedition. As the sources are manifold and there is not a sufficient amount of original

records, there has sometimes been difficulty for us in determining the nature and exact dates of the relics concerned.

For the purpose of writing this book, the question of whether to include an object as a part of our collection of Dunhuang art relics has to be decided by what evidence is currently available. There are things whose date and place of origin, that is, the cave to which it once belonged, we have failed to determine exactly, but there is sufficient reason to conclude they were taken from the Thousand Buddha Caves of Mogao. These include the heads of painted clay sculptures the earliest ones of which date from the time of the Kingdoms of Northern Liang or Northern Wei, for instance, the two heads from the statues of Buddha earnestly and strictly practicing his faith (Д x 323 and Д x 324). Their authenticity might be determined by comparing them with the painted clay sculptures of Sakyamuni of Northern Liang found in the eastern cave of the Golden Pagoda Temple in Gansu Province. For another instance, several heads of sculptures originally included in the Turfan collection (Д x 351–356) were identified by Dr. N. D. Jiakonova as objects from Dunhuang and she held to her belief to the last. Unfortunately, Dr. Jiakonova passed away in 1996 and so was unable to provide sufficient data for her conclusions. Despite this, they are included in this book in the interest of future studies.

There are also objects which we have included here as Dunhuang relics although there is the possibility that they may not have come from the place, the reason being that there is no proof that they have originated elsewhere, for instance, Xinjiang or Khara-khoto. However, we have raised doubts in our descriptions and commentaries so that specialists can make further studies. Some of these objects whose authenticity we are not completely sure about are at the same time of particular value, for instance, the coloured painting of Buddha with two donors, one monk and one nun (X2486). The "X" here stands for the Russian form of Heishuicheng or Khara-khoto when transliterated into English. This means that it has been identified as a relic of Khara-khoto. But the hairdo of the woman is the same as that typical of the images of women of the Five Dynasties Period found on objects collected from Dunhuang while different from the Xixia (name of a state, A. D. 1032 – A. D. 1227) style found in the paintings at Khara-khoto and also different from the Central Asian style common among the relics of Turfan. On the left margin of the painting are half obliterated strokes of some hand-writing, which fact points to the possibility that it could be a painting placed at the beginning of a Buddhist sutra scroll and this is a form we have often seen on Dunhuang manuscripts but have never seen on a Khara-khoto manuscript of which most of the paintings at the beginning of a sutra scroll are printed from engraved blocks. As to the iconographical interpretation of the painting, some say it is Buddha with two donors and two Buddhist figures, that is to say, a donor monk and a donor nun. From the point of view of Buddhist theory, a Buddhist nun is one who has not yet cultivated morality to such an extent as to attain the status of a male so that she is still without an aura behind her neck and back and this agrees with what is portrayed in the painting. However, the image in the painting has on the clothing of a laywoman, and this is highly unusual. The woman's image seems closer to that of the kind of donor that often appears in murals or that of the noble princess whose soul has been raised to a higher level of existence on a silk or hemp cloth painting of the Avalokitesvara leading the way. This is a painting of unusual significance that is certainly worthy of further study.

There is some overlap between the collection of manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of

the Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg Branch, and the collection of art relics in the State Hermitage Museum. Evidently it would not be strictly proper to call this small overlapped part either manuscripts or art relics. For this reason, we have also included in this book some fragments of paintings and handicraft objects in the special collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies that are considered of special iconographical value, with explanations given in the descriptions and commentaries. Among these, the paintings at the beginning of sutras and the rhombic-patterned "juan" silk of "kesi" tapestry weave (Д x 9433) are particularly noteworthy. In the special collection of Dunhuang manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies are quite a number of early wooden-block paintings most of which can be verified by a comparative study alongside the Xixia objects brought back by the P. K. Kozlov expedition from Khara-khoto. For this reason, they are not included here. By way of a footnote, both the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch, and the State Hermitage Museum use "Д x", the shortened form of Dunhuang in Russian, to mark the manuscripts or art relics of Dunhuang in their respective collections, but they are actually two independent numbering systems. The few art relics of the Institute of Oriental Studies published herein all have numbers larger than Д x 1000 so that it would not be difficult to distinguish them from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum. Of course, in the descriptions and commentaries we have made sure that their source be explained.

Another point that is worthy of our notice is that what we call Dunhuang art relics are not limited to finds from the secret vault of Buddhist scriptures. Therefore it is not right to use the first half of the 11th century during which the secret cave was sealed up as the latest date of the art relics in Russian collections. While the main source is the Secret Scriptures Vault, there are things from other caves too. This is especially true of those things collected from local inhabitants who had each possessed a few relics. Failing to make this kind of a distinction could lead to the mistake of dating certain things of a later age as of pre-Song vintage.

5.3 Form and Arrangement of the Book

In compiling this book, we have studied the form and arrangement of similar publications of other countries, especially the book entitled *The Fine Arts of Central Asia* published by Kodansha of Japan. Generally speaking, the ideal way of compiling a pictorial publication of historical relics is to arrange the things by their place of origin which in the present case would be a numbered cave so that it would be possible to derive benefit from the precise data of time and place. But most of the art relics in the Russian collections are lacking in first-hand records of information and data. Many of the conclusions were drawn later through comparative studies. Such a deficiency has had to do with the special circumstance that the Oldenburg expedition to Dunhuang and its acquisition of art relics there were not undertaken until after Stein, Pelliot and Otani Kozui made theirs and not until after the central government of China ordered the provincial authorities of Gansu Province to send everything found in the Secret Scripture Vault to Beijing. Under these circumstances, while Oldenburg and his colleagues had obtained a considerable quantity of relics from the Mogao Caves, the bulk of their acquisitions came from local inhabitants. Consequently, it is now no longer possible to arrange the relics according to their place of origin.

In the present book, the art relics are basically classified according to what art form they belong to and what kind of material they are made of. In setting up the categories, we have followed the principle of "Where there is plenty of evidence, a category is formed; where there is not, there

is no independent category". The order of arrangement according to art form is from three-dimensional sculptures to two-dimensional paintings. The sculptural works are arranged according to the following order: first, carvings in the round; second, relief carvings from main sculptural works; third, mold-impressed Buddhist figurines; and lastly appurtenances to sculptural works such as the necklace of skulls on a Buddha statue of the esoteric sect and the wooden pipa string instrument. The paintings are divided and arranged according to the nature of the material used in the following order: murals; then paintings on silk (including pictorial illustrations to parables in sutras on silk and similar large-format works, also painted silk streamers); then paintings on hemp cloth (including hemp cloth table-front curtains and broad-width paintings in hemp cloth); then painted hemp cloth streamers (in the further order of firstly more or less intact streamers and then the heads of streamers, but the two may be intermixed where comparisons are worthwhile); then painted textile handicraft objects (In most cases, these silk fabrics or painted pieces are fragments of paintings or streamers or streamer tags that have somehow been severed from the body of the original piece. Since it is impossible to trace them now to their origin and since as fabrics they have in themselves some special characteristics, they can now be used as objects in the study of the technologies of textile making, dyeing and printing, embroidery, sewing, etc.); then paintings on paper; and lastly fragments of paintings on paper. In each category, the objects are arranged generally in a chronological order. Here those objects whose sources have been recorded and hence are datable will come before those that could only be identified through a comparative study although there is no record of their dates and those whose dates cannot be identified or those that are seriously damaged come last.

Such a classification scheme is obviously imperfect. In classifying objects of art, taking consideration of the materials used and the functions and visual images together is certain to cause problems of what might perhaps be called "multi-focusing". For instance, many of the fragments of paper paintings were originally a part of a painted streamer and in terms of genre, some paintings on silk are closer in their artistic style to paintings on hemp cloth streamers while most of what we have called painted textile handicraft objects were once a part of a painted streamer. In these circumstances, we can only focus on what we consider to be major aspects of the objects or what is of particular interest to us or what we think would make comparative studies and retrieval easier for readers. From another angle, we might even say that a mixed approach can better answer the purpose of classifying Dunhuang relics of art since by nature they all have multiple aspects. The present approach will make it easier for the reader to retrieve what he/she needs and will in no way hinder him/her from using the power of associating one thing with another. What is more, such an approach might even help the reader to hit on a new discovery when two different aspects are considered together. For instance, he/she might ask whether it was not true that in terms of the materials used for making painted streamers it was first dyed or painted silks and then hemp cloth or whether these materials were used side by side at the same time. They might get curious about the difference in artistic characteristics between the paintings on silk streamers and those on hemp cloth, and they might ask themselves what kind of material is best for a certain expressive purpose and a certain theme. Of course, many other questions may occur to them too.

Although scholars in Russia have made tremendous efforts since 1914 in studying and restoring the art relics, yet, owing to the complexity of the objects involved and the near isolation of their efforts (For a long time, what they were doing was little known to the world academe at

large), there necessarily would be deficiencies in their work. Some of the pictures have not yet been interpreted to the satisfaction of all and some fragments have not been pieced together in a way that is absolutely convincing. It is not likely that the deficiencies can be remedied all at once within a short time. In publishing this book, we have made use of computer technology and the latest findings of Russian and Chinese scholars to piece together fragments we have recently found to really belong together and correct some misplacements of the past. In making these corrections, we have made sure that the fragments should remain in their original state and that there should be no tampering with them in either their colour or lustre or their state of preservation. In making efforts at restoring the relics in the past, some broken lines were joined together and in some places missing colours were filled in for the sake of re-creating a complete visual effect when put on display. Although care was taken not to affect the original appearance of the work of art concerned, still it is likely that this touch-up might lead to misinterpretations or ambiguities. In publishing this book, we have decided to leave the past alterations as they are, and not try to restore a piece to its original look.

6. Postscript

Dunhuang Art Relics in Russian Collections is another major cooperative project between the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House and some national research institutes of Russia, following the publication in 1992 of *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* and *Heishuicheng (Khara-khoto) Manuscripts in Russian Collections* whose publication began in 1996. Researchers in both countries have devoted immense and assiduous labor to a task that sometimes is scholarly and sometimes only technical. And many others have joined them in the work, quietly and unostentatiously, devotedly and painstakingly, and above all creatively. At the moment when this book is brought before the public, we would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to all those who have made the publication of this book possible, whether we know them in person or not.

As the new century turns, the Mogao Caves will, far away in the vast deserts, celebrate the centenary of the discovery of the Secret Scripture Vault. With this in mind, we would like to dedicate this heavy tome of useful evidence and data to our motherland whose rich artistic soil has given birth to the great art of Dunhuang.

August 18, 1997

Translated from the Chinese text by Sun Li (孫驪)
(For notes and references, see the Chinese text.)

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Preface

by Maria L. Ptchelina (Rudova)

The main portions of Dunhuang collections kept in the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum were housed in July 1930 and November 1931 from the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The majority of Chinese classical paintings on silk and on paper were collected in February 1977 from the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Currently, registered on the detailed list of property of this museum are 357 articles (actual number, however, is smaller because of the merging of some fragments in the process of restoration), including frescoes, sculptures, and paintings on silk, hemp, and paper, as well as fragments of silk fabrics. The overly tiny and indiscernible fragments of the silk paintings were not calculated into the total.

S. F. Oldenburg opined that investigating the local monasteries was the principal task of his expedition. In his diary he wrote: "It should be reckoned that the descriptive catalogue (This refers to the depictions of the caves by the expedition – Rudova), together with the color pictures, traced pictures, photos and plans, serves as ample and reliable materials for research on the monasteries."

Oldenburg highly treasured the integrity of the artifacts, deeming that only those which might completely disappear of themselves and those detaching of which would not damage other objects could be taken away.

According to the Pelliot numbering system adopted by Oldenburg, the murals and sculptures collected came from 18 caves, 13 of which still extant and having been serially numbered by the Dunhuang Academy. The caves renumbered by Oldenburg, however, have not yet been tallied with the numbers labeled by the Dunhuang Academy. Hence it is a question whether the rest five caves still exist. Owing to insufficient evidence from literature, the origins of some artifacts have hitherto remained unclear.

Collations of the Dunhuang collections included: comparison of some of the fragments (confined to those of frescoes and silk paintings) and in conjunction with the further identification of the content, restorative and composite work. In this manner, some tableaux were pieced together out of certain numbers of inconsistent materials though their contents were easily comprehensible. For instance, the fresco Illustration to the *Syamaka Sūtra* was a piecing of two fragments (Д x 197 and

Д x 198) to reveal their contents. The silk painting Illustration to the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra* (Д x 316) was composed of 35 fragments, Illustration to the *Maitreya Sūtra* (Д x 223 and Д x 224) and *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (Д x 234) had 2 fragments respectively, *Maitreya* (Д x 225) had 4 fragments, etc.

The restorative work of the frescoes (It should be remembered that almost all of them were small remnant pieces) was chiefly commenced in the post-war 1947 and was led by senior restorer E. G. Shenin. The concrete work was undertaken in the mammoth painting studio of the State Hermitage Museum. Here Shenin progressively perfected his unique methodology of restoring and protecting the Dunhuang sculptures and murals.

The restorative work of the paintings on silk, paper and hemp was conducted by senior restorer H. H. Maximov, who also managed to find ways for restoring similar artifacts of Oriental painting.

Some individual antiquities have already lost most of their color layers and outlines. The tracings by Artist E. C. Matviyev played an active role in helping comprehension of their content. All these tracings were made possible thanks to the assistance of the eminent roentgenologist L. V. Wivilskov, who did the infrared surveys of the artifacts.

The author wishes to express her profound thanks to Jakonova, senior research fellow at the Hermitage Museum, and Menshikov, senior research fellow at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Oriental Research Institute under the Russian Academy of Sciences, for their suggestions and help on this book. Jakonova was the first, after S. F. Oldenburg, to introduce to Soviet academic circles the Dunhuang materials and their originals preserved in the Hermitage Museum.

The author also owes her gratitude to Professor Duan Wenjie, President of the Dunhuang Academy of China. Professor Duan viewed the Dunhuang artifacts at the Hermitage Museum and offered many valuable suggestions and opinions.

The building of the monasteries in Mogao Grottoes started in A. D. 366. But, the earliest traceable date of the grottoes built was about A. D. 500. That means the period starting from A. D. 500 up to the beginning of the Tang Dynasty (618 -907), or just before the 7th century, was the time the Dunhuang Buddhist art saw its shaping and development. Whether from sculptures or murals, one can see the mutual influence of the artistic styles and local traditions between India's Ajanta and Central Asia's Oases (principally Kucha).

Of the artifacts of this period and now kept in the Hermitage Museum, the most noteworthy are the murals of Vadya, Thousand Buddhas and Donors (Д x 196). The figure, halo and costume of Vadya, the haloes and kasāyas of the Buddhas and monks were all depicted in fine outline threads. The folds and creases of the dancers' skirts and the folds of the Buddhas' kasāyas were all drawn with fine black threads or even brighter course color threads. All the statues stood in single file, while the bottoms were unified, the postures diverse. The painters created an illusion of space, as the diversity of the methods of painting made the space of the tableau look ever so undulating, so bold and unconstrained, and yet showing no lack of harmony in adornment. We deem that this was unique of the Dunhuang murals during the period of the Northern Wei Kingdom (439 - 535).

Two extremely rarely seen relieves of Maitreya (Д x 199 and Д x 200) may be of significance for understanding the early stages of the shaping and development of the caves and monasteries. Although they were done with coarse handiwork under simple and crude equipment conditions, they never lost their power of manifestation.

Viewing from the angle of development of Chinese landscape painting, the fresco *Illustration to the Śyamaka Sutra* (Д x 197 and Д x 198) is worth noticing. This is the earliest Chinese architectural landscape painting. The Chinese tradition finds its expression in the narration of the murals' episodes; the tableau adopted an approach of multi-direction layout in an effort to experience a feeling of space, so that the hunting scenes were vivid. At the same time, it could be seen that it had an organic association with the traditional skill of outline-void line painting of the West. All the component parts of landscape painting — mountains, trees, human figures and animals — are done in this way. The organic linked between the traditions of both the East and the West marked a certain stage of the development of the Dunhuang mural art. The salient feature of serial coloration of the soft brown, black and red provided the basis for ascertaining that it was the works of the Sui Dynasty.

From the 7th century to the middle of the 8th century, the monastery art gradually developed a style unique to China. The Indian art had already been reformed and the Central Asia Oases and the local Chinese tradition had been absorbed. In Dunhuang, this demonstrated a unification of the Indian style of producing Buddhist statues and the Chinese tradition of wooden architecture. As far as skills are concerned, the main method employed was the light and shade approach, which revealed the merge of outline-void line drawing of the Western Regions (a Han Dynasty term for the area west of Yumen Pass) and the Chinese traditional line drawing with outlines. Painting figures in the empty spaces available must also be deemed traditionally Chinese.

The meticulous and graceful painting of Buddha Amitabha (Д x 192) and other Bodhisattvas demonstrates the high art level. The most typical is the plant beside the Buddhas on the right, which demonstrates very graceful and featured patterns. This work represents the early form of the belief of Amitabha. The finalization of this art category was in the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty (A. D. 712 - A. D. 755). The characterization of the grand size paintings of this period was that the figures and housing architecture demonstrated evident three-dimensional effect, with the distant view being extremely vivid.

Among our collections, all the portraits basically adopted plane painting, and yet they attempted at creating a sense of space. The portraits of the Buddhas were placed at a wee bit retreated central viewpoint, with the background pushed toward behind the even deeper gradation, while the images of Buddhas were lined diagonally to create an illusion of a distant view.

The date of the murals of the Buddhist Disciples (Д x 188) was ascertained as during the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty, which was also the heyday of the Chinese Buddhist art. There were certain modes for painting portraits with chiaroscuro outlines (here we refer to the images of Buddhist disciples), which lacks personality or portraitism depiction. But it was not simply create a feature lacking vivid image, but a real face of religious disciple, who was all attention with eyes gazing into the distance. The lofty spiritual strength embodied in this work reminds us of the

master artists of the Tang Dynasty. According to literature, they created a Chinese Buddhist art, which has no equal.

The multitudinous fragments patched up an incomplete silk painting *Illustration to the Maitreya Sūtra* (Д x 223 and Д x 224). Human figures and buildings were first outlined before being color painted, with the details adopting chiaroscuro method. The Bodhisattva put on the treasure crown, adorned with tassels and wore capes. The artists paid very great attention to balancing the entire toning of the general appearance of the pictures. The image of each figure retains concrete features of personality. The image of the apsara is especially eye-catching. She stretches out her both hands, and carrying her drum flies gracefully in the sky. With hair in a coil, she turns her head high up in the air to reveal her rosy cheeks and crimson lips. The master artists used delicate outlines in depicting the brown capes and the beautiful folds of the orange skirts. The towers featuring the techniques of Chinese architecture provides significant value to ascertaining the date of the artifact. The tower, composed of two parts — the dominating brick columns and the arch over the gateway — was surrounded with low balustrades and their standing railings, had sets of brackets on top of the columns supporting the beams within and the roof eaves without. The joints of the upper of such lofty towers were called Quan, or arches, which can be seen in the murals inside the caves built during the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty (e. g. Dunhuang, Cave 217). And the joints can be seen more clearly in the photograph of the same cave taken by the Oldenburg expedition. The brick columns with doors, the wooden towers with balustrades and arches over the gateways were the same as those seen in classical Chinese painting on silk. The towers were part of the city walls. Two of the towers, similar to the 8th century frescoes of the four royal mausoleums discovered on the outskirts of the ancient Tang capital Chang'an (now Xi'an City), are the earliest famous images for like architectural works of the Tang Dynasty. The picture of the damaged costumes of the warriors on the dilapidated right upper part of the tower has direct similarity with 7th-and 8th-century pottery sculptures unearthed from the mausoleums. The only difference lies in the headdress: In our artifacts, the warriors wear Buddhist headgear.

The plump figures of the female worshipers, their hairstyles and costumes (the large sleeve of the skirt-jacket, the half-revealed dress, and the capes) accurately reflect the very images of the women of the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty. Their faces, though not any unique or with any individual personality, are, however, the popular mode of traditional Chinese painting of beautiful women. The reason why the female worshipers were listed among Buddhist pictures and positioned within their structure was that it had something to do with the general appearance of the pictures. In its totality, the painting of this kind creates an impression of a preliminary draft, as it fails to reveal the actual creative power of the master artist. Under such circumstances, the blank horizontal tablet forcefully reveals that this Buddhist portrait has never been "used" and hence is only a semi-finished product.

As regards the silk painting of the Illustration to the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra* (Д x 222), reckoning from the fragments, the length and width of which is rather enormous. Regretfully, only one fragment of the painting is left, with the pigment layer fortunately remaining intact. On this fragment are a set of Bodhisattva portraits near a pond and four images of donors. One can see clearly that this is a typical painting of the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty: the space arrangement with regard to figures, the color line drawing, the chiaroscuro, the setting off by

contrast with shades of blue and orange, the official's turban-like headdress with flowing bands, the style of garments. From the painting one can conclude that the objects are all the then living and active characters. For instance, the first donor takes a sitting posture with his palms closed in a prayer, but his facial expression is unclear; the second donor stands with all attention with both eyes wide open; the third, differently, tranquilly looks into the distance. It is impossible to effect a psychological portrayal, but, nevertheless, we can at least feel the particular frame of mind and sentiments of the worshiper at such a solemn moment of prayer.

From this it can be suggested that there existed in China's Tang Dynasty a unique portrait painting which was related with the viewpoints of the 4th century painter Gu Kaizhi and the 6th century art critic on color painting Xie He. From the extant fragments, one can see how sound the judgments of these masters are. Said Gu Kaizhi, "In painting, the most difficult is the portraying of human figures." According to Gu, in figure painting, the depicting of the eyes is the most essential, for the eyes represent human vitality and essence. In the book On Painting, Xie He introduced the six canons that artists should follow in the course of creation. This, in fact, was the inheritance and development of the theory by Gu Kaizhi. Zhang Yanyuan was the first to annotate Xie He's "Six Canons". He believed that the first of the six canons was the most significant and said that breath resonance was in essence lifelike spirit, which means that no figure painting can be considered genuine if it fails to express the very essence of the depicted.

According to the few Tang Dynasty wall paintings in our collection, we may conclude that the Chinese Buddhist art displayed on the walls of Mogao monasteries was actually developed in the common tradition of China's culture and art.

From the meticulousness of the contours, the depicted inner world activities, and richness of facial expressions that are typical of the *Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara* (Д x 283-305) , one can ascertain it is done in the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty. And it is one of the earliest painting samples of the Mi-sect Buddhist portrait so well known in the academic circles.

As far as Dunhuang Buddhist art is concerned, which was done in the Mid-Tang (781 - 848), Late Tang (848 - 907) and the Five Dynasties (907 - 960) can be treated as a unique whole with a definite significance. This is a major phase of 200 years in the history of monasteries. During this period, the local authorities while having lost contact with the central government, Dunhuang's Buddhist art, nevertheless, developed to reach a new peak with its new characteristics. The Mid-Tang art of mural and sculpture, as a synthesis of various influences, retains the traditional rules of shaping, with the classical art of the Golden Age playing a significant role. During the Golden Age, Dunhuang had very close connections with the central authorities, but this was also the most difficult period for determining the date of the artifacts. In all probability, only two hemp streamers of a Buddhas and two Bodhisattvas (Д x 211, 62) and a few fragments of silk paintings of Bodhisattvas (Д x 221, 228, 225, 261, 220) belonged to this period.

Among our collections, those of the Late Tang are impressive in number. First of all, there are numerous large size hemp streamers. Although the state of preservation leaves much to be desired (some are visible only through infrared rays), from them one can see the many features of the continuity of tradition. The contours of the Buddhas are neat, well spaced and refined. The technique of shaping of the face and hands is superb, with proportions suitably extended. The

costumes are rich in folds and creases, but the figures look a little stiff. The colored bottom could be regarded as the feature of this period (Д x 79, 80, 210, 181). In its totality, the drawings of this period moved gradually toward the common orbit of the Central Asian art style, with the influence of the culture and art of Turfan and Uighur being particularly conspicuous. This was made possible thanks to the increasing large-scale dissemination of the art of sculptures for Mi-Sect Buddhism, to the development of a school of portrait painting unique to the Mi religion, and to the intensification of customary. The garments of the Bodhisattvas are characterized by both gorgeousness and encumbrance of ornaments: the treasure headdresses are in their majestic splendor, the girdles in over elaborate decorative patterns, and costumes with bottoms of fresh floral designs. From this angle, we can see that the portrait of the *Thousand-Armed, Thousand-Eyed and Thousand-Alms-Bowled Mañjuśrī*(Д x 205) is a unique image. Although the colored layer (mainly the part on the right) reveals near total destruction, it is still possible to see the fineness and meticulousness of the outlines and the delicacy of the contours that are so neat and well spaced.

As mentioned above, the deep-colored bottom of the Buddhist images saw rich changes in color through employment of blue, orange and crimson colors plus the use of much gold powder. Both the treasure headdresses of the Bodhisattva and the complex geometrical patterns of his halo reflect the new features that appeared in the Buddhist paintings in this period.

The subsequent Five Dynasties period (907 - 960) witnessed the complete process of how the tradition of Turfan and Uighur arts effected monastery art. The costumes and symbols of Buddhas are as imposing as they are beautiful, but the lines betray dullness and seem incumbent. Many of the portraits are simplistic in color (having two or three colors only), and the changes, if any, are inconsequential.

The Buddhist paintings of the same period now in the keeping of the Hermitage Museum are no more different than the crudely done artifacts of this period. The drawing is rough, the coloring casual, lacking change in colors. Among the finds of the 9th- and 10th- century Dunhuang Buddhist paintings, the most noteworthy phenomenon is the appearance of numerous portraits of donors and prayer scripts. Such a phenomenon has direct connection with accepting Avalokiteśvara as a special, independent worshipper not dominated by Amitabha. The request to Avalokiteśvara is principally paradise in afterlife in Amitabha's land of the pure, but it also involves prayer for prosperity of the family and flourishing of the nation.

There is a streamer with donors (Д x 164), which is the earliest famous artifact. The donors are one whole family. There were thematic scripts on it albeit they were not conserved. On the left are females while the males are on the right. The inscription in the front reveals the names of the donors and their relatives. The headgear of Chinese officials — turbans with two dangling corners — and the female hairstyles — towering buns adorned with three pinned flowers and the hair on the temples partly covering the face — prompted that this artifact might be a Late Tang work.

What is worth noticing is a picture of a bride. In our opinion, this suggests that the appearances of brides in Buddhist paintings explain a certain development of the mass viewpoint in Buddhism — the integration of worship of Buddha and the veneration of ancestors. In all probability, the

prayers of the bride was for being blessed with the birth of a noble son (for the basic tenet of venerating ancestors and the main function of Avalokiteśvara are to help all those who live in misery, including women who long to be conceived).

Among our collections there is. a portrait of Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara. It has a correct date of creation (956) and a complete prayer script, beseeching them to let his deceased ancestors go to the land of the pure of Amitābha.

From the approach to shaping the image of the Bodhisattva, we can see the typical expertise of this period. The folds of the garments are proper and symmetrical and the 7-color halos are the result of different shadings of one single color. The hard-cornered turban worn by the 10th-century donors was the typical fashion of headdress popular among the males of the Five Dynasties, as is recorded in ancient Chinese historical literature. And from men's costumes of this period, one can see local features — first of all the opening of a slit on the side of the gown to facilitate horse riding. We believe this was due to the influence of Uighur garments.

The garments of female donors of the Late Tang and Five Dynasties period, including the jacket and skirt, and short-sleeved upper garment and cape, were basically the same as those of the previous period. But the headdress and hairstyle had their new characteristics, demonstrating luxury and dignity. Especially, during the Five Dynasties period, this kind of headdress was termed the "flowered hat" or "phoenix hat". The phoenix-shaped headdress of noble women donors and all those jade hairpins (seen in the murals and other drawings) appeared not only in Dunhuang artifacts, but also in the frescoes of the Uighur caves in the Central Asia Oases. Pan Qiezi, linking this situation with the influence of the Uighur, believed that this was due to the fact that the rulers and nobles of Dunhuang had close marriage relationships with the Uighur. We deem, however, that the origin of such a headdress should be traced from the Chinese side. From the Late Tang-started paintings and from the Dunhuang murals, we can see the various hairstyles of many aristocratic ladies of that period. There was one hairstyle, called "flower-pinned hat", which-was particularly conspicuous. As can be seen from its literal meaning in Chinese, it consists of flowers and a metal adornment (hairpin). The size of the ornament and the number of flowers and pendants were all different. The ladies in the murals in Dunhuang's Mogao Cave 130 all wore gold phoenix hat, which drew great interest among us.

Evidence testifying that this kind of headdress is Chinese in style comes from the book *Portraits of Chinese Emperors and Empresses*, in which there are pictures of the headdresses of empresses of the Song Dynasty (960 – 1268). Such hats are characterized by many flowers and phoenix pins on the hair arranged upwards with the temples ornamented with a hairpin on each side. According to their structure and individual objects, this kind of headdress is quite similar to those of the aristocratic ladies of the Five Dynasties and the subsequent two Song dynasties. We reckon that the headdresses of female donors of Late Tang, Five Dynasties and the two Song dynasties, achieved development in Dunhuang under the influence of "Tang custom", for the monasteries had relationships of every description. The marriages between Chinese princesses and the Uighur khans played no little role in this, either.

As we have seen, there were already whole-family portraits of donors among the 9th- century Dunhuang murals and the numbers increased in the ensuing 10th century. It is reasonable to call

them family portraitures. Such portraitures had formed their own system and followed a certain pattern. Specifically, the portraitures had in their inscription names, titles, and family relationships of the members of the family. As far as all the portraitures were concerned, such a system strictly recorded the incriptions of the worshiper, and strictly arranged the listing of the members of the family according to sex and senority in rank and age. The first line of the prayer script was "the pious disciple of Buddha So-and-so" with no official rank or age preceding the name. Some donors were officials and were in full apparel, and there were also women in such dresses as befitted the standards of the time.

The above-mentioned family portraitures were a unique phase in the development of Chinese religious ceremonial portraits, and they were famous only in Dunhuang during the 9th and 10th centuries. We conjecture that they seem to constitute an individual link in the entire chain of the history of Chinese portraiture painting, based on the tradition of Gu Kaizhi-Xie He theory.

Translated from Russian text by Wang Kexiao
Translated from Chinese text by Huang Songlin

Dunhuang Textiles
— Collections, Times, Crafts and Artistic Styles

by Lubo – Lesnichenko

I

At the turn of the century, great numbers of scripts and religious paintings were discovered in the Cave of Sacred Scripts within the Mogao Grottoes near Dunhuang, China. What occupied a dominant position among the unearthed artifacts was, however, the artistic brocades and embroidery. The fate of these fabrics were different and up to now they have been housed separately in the museums of various places. Most of those Marc Aurel Stein took away in 1907 are now kept in the British Museum and some are kept in the National Museum of India in New Delhi. The silk fabrics selected by Paul Pelliot are now conserved in the Museum Guimet and the Bibliotheque Nationale. The fabrics taken away by the Second Xinjiang Expidition led by S. F. Oldenburg are now in the keeping of the State Hermitage Museum. By comparison, the artifacts last mentioned here are much fewer than the two previously mentioned. Specificaly, it is only 1/5 of Stein's collection, or 1/3 of those of Pelliot's. It is stated that Tokyo's State Museum also keeps some Dunhuang fabrics. Not long ago, the Chinese sources declared that 60 articles of silk fabrics of the 8th century were found in 1965 in Caves 130, 122 and 127, and that in 1972, woven and embroidered fabrics done in year 476 were found in Cave 125.

In all, the silk fabrics of Dunhuang fall into over 150 categories. Besides the articles kept in the Imperial Chamber of Art Treasures of Horyu Temple in Japan's Nara, the silk fabrics unearthed from the great cemetery of Astana in the vicinity of China's Turfan are now the most significant materials for the study of Far East textile artistry of the early Middle Ages. It should be pointed out that, compared with other Dunhuang artifacts, textiles have not received sufficient attention, as has been borne out by Stein and Andrews' restoration of the relevant textiles and writings. Regretfully, in those writings, little has been mentioned of textile technology and patterns of the fabrics are few. Currently, K. Riboud is conducting a research into the Dunhuang fabrics kept in the Delhi State Museum. In addition, L. O'Neale and Durrell are writing on the characteristics of manufacture technology of the Dunhuang fabrics obtained by Stein now kept in the British Museum. Meanwhile, J. Lowry is studying the weaving technology of the Dunhuang fabrics now kept in the British Museum. K. Riboud and G. Vial have not only made a comprehensive and in-depth study of the textile technology of the silk fabrics taken away by Pelliot, but they have already published his treatises. And Jakonova has done the reconstruction of the patterns of the fabrics kept in the State Hermitage Museum.

The silk fabrics found in the Cave of Sacred Scripts are proved to have diverse uses, most of which served as edges for images of Buddha. This, of course, was due to the influence of ancient

Chinese paintings. In China, since the 5th century, all the calligraphy and paintings on silk and paper were invariably protected by silk borders. Fabrics of this kind now kept in the State Hermitage Museum are 26 centimetres in width and two metres in length and feature lace borders and are attached to the 8th century paintings of Amitabha.

Some of the fabrics were used on book slips. As was stated by K. K. Flug, using silk covers for books began in the Han Dynasty (2 c. B. C. – A. D. 2 c.). The book slips seen in Dunhuang are usually rectangular in shape, being 30 – 65 cm x 28 – 30 cm. Some book slips have triangular ornaments stitched onto them. An ornament of this kind was made from a plain colour silk fabric, around and in the middle of which were coloured fabrics with flower patterns. Besides those made of silk, book slips were also made of fine hemp or bamboo slices knitted with silk ribbons, with book titles woven or written in the corners. Similar is the shape of the book slips now kept in Japan's Horyu Temple in Nara.

Among the silk fabrics kept in Dunhuang, the most important ones are pennants, streamers, canopies and curtains of various kinds. The conspicuous presence of these fabrics attributes to its significance in religious ceremonies and in the life of Buddhist followers.

Of all the woven bed-curtains, the most attractive is the one kept in the State Museum in New Delhi. Two and half metres long, it is ornamented with embroidered silk ribbons, and is stitched with numerous fragments of silk fabrics. This kind of curtain was used to decorate niches for statues of Buddha and looked as vivid as a wall painting.

In accordance with ancient traditions, each of the streamers had a triangular (some being rectangular) top (or head as signified in Buddhist language). Under it was the main part (or body of the flag and then the tassel (or the foot). On the head was stitched a loop for hanging purposes. The bodies of the streamers vary from 20 – 30 cm to several metres.

Among the murals and scripts in Dunhuang caves are some revealing the many uses of the streamers. Very often they were hung on both sides of "pagodas", as is demonstrated in the murals of Wei Kingdom Cave 428 (135) and the ninth century Five Dynasties Cave 76 (102). Some streamers were placed by the sides of the canopies and statues of gods, as can be seen in Cave 305 (at the turn of the 7th century). In an article on the newly discovered Dunhuang textiles, the writer mentioned that loops for hanging pennants and streamers were found in some caves or by the side of Bodhisattva. In addition, at temple fairs and other religious festivals, Buddhist followers used to carry such flags. Records of these can be found in Caves 146(8), 332 (146), 331 (145) for Tang Dynasty murals as well as in the writings mentioned above.

According to relevant literature, Buddhist followers believe that carrying such banners promised freedom from calamities, lengthening of one's life span, and even a successful official career in next life. Owing to the great demand for such banners, many people settled down around monasteries to make and sell them for a living. Data derived from the Cave of Sacred Scripts show that around the many Dunhuang monasteries handicraftsmen in this field could also be found in those days.

Local written data of the Dunhuang Oases reveal that sericulture was also an occupation here.

Although local residents had been able to make silks, products manufactured within such a small place naturally could not cope with the demand of the many monasteries. Hence, the silks for use chiefly came from other places. As is recorded in Dunhuang literature, the silk products came mainly from major cities in present-day Henan, Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces. In addition, Dunhuang, as a starting point of the Silk Road, also accepted textiles from the western world; for instance, a fabric called Zandaniji was produced in Sute. Significantly, this kind of silk fabric (and also including fabrics of through warps and broken wefts) was highly valuable in Dunhuang and was hence used to make wrappers for book covers.

II

The question of the date of manufacture of the silk fabrics found in the Dunhuang caves is rather a complex one, for, unlike scripts, literature, or painting scrolls, textiles (especially the banners) were not generally given date of production so that ascertaining approximate time of making had to rely on comparison. However, as the materials in the Cave of Sacred Scripts were invariably monasterial artifacts and since the monasteries have been in existence for centuries, it is still possible to tell the different times of the silks.

The attached table gives a list of the known silk fabrics in the Cave of Sacred Scripts and makes a comparison between the said fabrics with those whose dates of manufacture has already been roughly ascertained. We opine that the earliest time will be CH00118, or close to the Tang Dynasty. The ornamental patterns of the fabrics were a blending of the western style and the hitherto long established Chinese style. This was especially typical of the textile technology of the Six Dynasties (A. D. 3rd – 6th centuries). The general layout was quite similar to that of the tradition of the Mediterranean region: In the middle there is the typical noded "tree of life", the patterns being in the shape of waves; the joints are also very typical. As to the dragons, the thought-out birds and types of facial makeups, they are without doubt of Chinese origin. A "tortoise shell" pattern can often be seen among the ornaments inside the great cemetery of Astana. This kind of patterns most probably appeared in China in the A. D. 5th – 6th centuries, but not beyond the 7th, as it never appeared among Tang Dynasty textiles.

Similarly, silk fabrics numbered CH00178 (EO01193) and CH00169 can trace their origin in the textile fabrics of the A. D. 4 – 6 century Koops and Byzantine. In the meantime, the CH00178 (01193) silk was made with the brocading method, as was described by G. Vial; this technology was very popular in China at the turn of the 7th century.

Many textile fabrics can trace their origin to the latter half of the 7th century or the first half of the 8th . A part of the Zandaniji I type fabrics have been ascertained by Yelushalinskaya as products of the first half of the 7th century. Compared with the silk fabrics unearthed from the great cemetery of Astana and those conserved in the Imperial Museum within the Horyu Temple in Nara, Japan, it can be determined that some silk fabrics in the Cave of Sacred Scripts were products of the end of the 7th century and first part of the 8th.

Hence, it can be judged that the majority of the silk fabrics were produced during the two centuries before the caves were officially closed, i.e. the latter part of the 8th century and the first half of the 10th. However, the data obtained by way of comparison have been very limited, as we know little of other silk fabrics that came from other regions during the period. Belonging

to this category are the Zandaniji II silks which have been ascertained as products of the latter half of the 8th century and the 9th. Some others are similar to the finds at Astana and the Moshev Galley (North Caucasus), and those recently found in Dunhuang's Cave 13. Two silk fabrics are very similar to the famous Karaho-zo fabrics, obviously transported here before the closure of the Cave of Sacred Scripts.

III

As the time of manufacture of the textiles in the Cave of Sacred Scripts spanned across four centuries and their places of manufacture were so different, the technologies used were also widely diversified. Writings by Andrews, Riboud, G. Vial, Lowry, O'Neale and Durrrell have all made clear mentions of this. The salient features of the Dunhuang silk fabrics now kept in the Hermitage Museum testify to the statements quoted above. Pelliot and G. Vial, when describing these collections had revealed through studies that there were all together four ways to start the embroidery, and all these ways of organization can all be seen in the Hermitage collections. The simplest of these is a pattern done on the ground of plain weave, with four sets of threads diagonally weaving out stitched decorative patterns (1/3 diagonal stitching). This kind of weaving method is typical of China's textile tradition. As is proven by the data of Loulan and Noyinula, quantities of monochrome silk products with decorative patterns were done in this way. Of the 11 fabrics with floral patterns two were made in this way. Thereafter, with the advance of technology, pattern on the ground of plain weave done on six sets of threads diagonally woven (1/5 diagonal stitching) developed. Among the selections in the Hermitage three fabrics were done in this way.

In the 7th century a textile revolution took place in China, which was also felt in silk picture-weaving. At this time the decorative patterns were revealed by wefts. The simplest difference of this kind of technique lies in that the wefts were done with four sets (3:1) or six sets (5:1) weft diagonally stitched decorative patterns. Comparing these two methods, one sees the reverse of the functions of the warp and weft threads, with the two patterns displaying a difference of 90 degrees. Among the selections five were done in this way.

The last kind is much more complex than the other three, for it involves the use of three sets of threads to weave 1/2 warp threads on warp threads on the ground of diagonal pattern to weave out 2/1 weft diagonal decorative patterns formed with three sets of wefts.

Five muslins among the Pelliot collections were ascertained by G. Vial to be fabrics with this kind of twisting (in Japanese it is called "ろ" style). G. Vial studied the weaving method of the muslins, one of which is now kept in the Hermitage.

The treasures of Dunhuang provide innumerable materials for the study of the manufacturing history of the coloured brocades – the extremely complicated and most significant silk product. Ancient Chinese weaving trade was characterized by coloured decorative patterns formed by different coloured (usually in three colours) warps, with wefts playing a supporting role. When passing through the warps, usable and nonusable warps were joined to form, separately, the desired decorative patterns. The usual practice was to run the warps over three wefts, and then thread the warp through the fourth weft. This was how the Dunhuang CH00118 was done and it can be determined that the fabric was manufactured somewhere before the turn of the 8th

century. Another weaving method of similar kind was to let the warps run over five wefts and then pass through another weft. In all probability, this kind of fabric did not appear until the establishment of the Tang Dynasty. The study by G. Vial shows that most of the French-kept brocades were done with this method. One-third of similar articles kept in the Hermitage were also produced in this way. Studies on the articles kept in Japan's Horyu Temple suggests that earliest use of this method dated not later than the 8th century.

Although study of historical records and unearthed artifacts may both demonstrate that the application of floral design via wefts commenced in the 7th century, the question, nevertheless, has so far remained unanswered. Considerable numbers of Dunhuang silk products were done in what G. Vial called the brocade-stitching method. Comparing these brocades with those of the Han Dynasty, it can be seen that the functions of the warps and wefts were exactly just the reverse, with the decorative patterns having a difference of 90 degrees. G. Vial had made studies on several artistic approaches of the Pelliot's collections, while manufacture of Article 288 of the Hermitage adopted one of such approaches.

There were no silk products made with such a method among the French collections, but there were similar articles in the Horyu Temple. While study on Oriental weaving has been relatively weak, it is still possible to determine the birthplace and time of this weaving technique, with only the one exception of Zandaniji brocade. Thanks to the meticulous study by Yelushaskaya and other scholars over the past near three decades on the three centuries (A. D. 7th - 9th), it has been revealed that the place of origin was Sute.

Of the textiles represented in Dunhuang, the most prominent were printed fabrics, which accounted for about one-third of the total. This corresponds reasonably with the ratio of similar collections in the Horyu Temple. It seems that printed fabrics did play an important role in the manufacture of silk products during the early years of the Middle Ages.

IV

As mentioned above, the basic data for study of Oriental textiles come from the great Astana cemetery, the Dunhuang monasteries and the Horyu Temple museum. The former is located in the oasis of Turfan, in the vicinity of the Astana Village, four kilometres north of the ancient town of Gaochang. This graveyard was first studied by a Japanese expedition in 1913. In 1916 Stein came and worked. From 1928 to 1930 the Chinese archaeologist Huang Wenbi and later in 1959 teams from the Xinjiang Museum and the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences did excavations here. From the indicated date of epitaphs and artifacts unearthed it is now proved that the graveyard had been in existence since the 4th to 8th centuries (between 363 and 778).

The major parts of Horyu Temple's collections were obtained from 752 to 756, which included the rich materials of the Oriental silk fabrics during the 7th to the first half of the 8th centuries. As for Dunhuang's fabrics, the date of their manufacture, as has been mentioned previously, was ascertained to be 6th to 10th centuries.

In content, there exist a few differences among the three parts of collections. Of those of Aastana many were of the Six Dynasties (4th - 7th centuries) and they were all western-manufactured. Some of the collections in Horyu Temple were the works of Japanese artisans who modeled after

Tang Dynasty's traditional production.

The Dunhuang's collections include large numbers of Late Tang (latter part of 8th century to the 10th century) data concerning silk fabrics, which were not found in the two previously mentioned fabrics. Furthermore, we opine that these differences are inconsequential, as they resulted from difference in date and place. In actual fact, there exists sameness among the above-mentioned silk fabrics, and in their totality they complement one another to provide an objective glimpse of the early Oriental textile history. Vividly, they are like the three fulcrums of a tripod.

Hence, the fabrics of Dunhuang are essentially different from the other artifacts discovered in the Cave of Sacred Scripts. The latter are closely related with Buddhism and Buddhist statues, while the fabric patterns have nothing to do with them. It is the same as what we see in the old monasteries of ancient Russia and some other parts of Europe, where there are also numerous textile fabrics, but they have nothing to do with Christianity.

The Dunhuang silk fabrics reflect the process of basic change of China's pattern art that took place in and even before the Tang Dynasty. Like two batches of different works, one signifies infiltration of the pattern style of eastern Mediterranean region, while the other brings in the pattern art of Sassan Iran, especially the patterns of connected veins (7th to 8th centuries) and the gradual increase of the proportion of colour patterns (8th to 10th centuries).

According to the data so far available, this kind of pattern was popular towards the end of the 6th century, or the beginning of the 7th. Initial data came from the great cemetery of Astana. This was a coloured brocade, with a peacock within a circle, and in the gaps there are images of dragons and block Chinese characters, whose date having been determined as somewhere between 596 and 616. Among the Dunhuang murals there were also those with Sui Dynasty (589 – 617) Sassan-style patterns characterized by Avalokitesvara's garment on which there are, within circles (Caves 427, 136), designs of riders versus lions. T. Akiyama identified that this mural dated back to end of the 6th century to the beginning of the 7th.

The above materials are all recorded in written data. The earliest to record in writing with regard to Sassan patterns was a statesman named He Chou. "The Biography of He Chou" in the *History of Sui Dynasty* records that "Chou is extremely ingenious by nature and shows learned wisdom and boasts meditated purposes, that "Chou is well read in ancient pictures and knows great numbers of antiquities. Impressed on seeing a Persia-presented gilded silk robe whose texture was extremely beautiful, the Emperor ordered Chou to produce an imitation. When the robe was done, it surpassed the original so that the Emperor was greatly delighted." During the Reign of Daye (605 – 617), the Sui Emperor Yangdi decided on making an imperial tour of the city of Yangzhou, "whereby he said to Chou, 'The nation is now enjoying stability and I have inherited the grand cause, and yet we still lack systematic rulings for ceremonial apparels with their distinctive decorations. Also inadequate are the cultural products. You can make an extensive reading of books in this respect and select carriage and garments together with ornaments for guard of honor and send them to Jiangdu (Sui Dynasty's name for the city of Yangzhou)' ...Chou then ordered manufacture of yellow standards good for 36,000 guards and carriages escorting the Emperor's carriage and the Empress's guards together with the official costumes of the various-ranking officials. All these were made to schedule and sent to Jiangdu.

The project involved the labor of over 100,000 men..."

Among the Dunhuang textiles we see patterns of various themes and subjects. In this article we shall delve more deeply into a certain pattern which holds a prominent position in the mutual exchange between Eastern and Western cultures. This is the so-called Sassan Joint Pearl Pattern. In the early days of the Middle Ages, the most widespread and longest-standing pattern among the new-type decorative designs that appeared in the patterns of Oriental silk fabrics is the Sassan Joint Pearl Pattern – a circular pattern formed in the shape of small round pearls. Inside the circles there were often decorative patterns of birds and beasts (although also those of plant patterns taking the shape of human beings). The stringed pearl patterns may be arranged into straight lines or in the form of chessboards. The gaps in the circle were filled with patterns of beasts or plants.

C. Jakonova has written a special article discussing how the Sassan pattern was shaped, believing that such a textile pattern was a repetition of decorative coins or papercuts. This might suggest that the Sassan stringed pearl pattern had appeared in other fabrics and other technology and hence had already been finalized before it became a textile pattern.

As regards the significant materials of the Sassan Pattern that appeared in China, the ninth century scholar Zhang Yanyuan had made reference in his works Famous Paintings through the Ages. When referring to the prominent masters of the early Tang, he wrote: "A Master by name of Dou Shilun was adept at silk fabrics, his auspicious brocades and palatial satins were known for their glamour of patterns so that people in Shu (now Sichuan Province in southwest China) have hitherto called them Lingyang (Dou's birthplace, now a county in Anhui Province) Example. During the reigns of Emperors Gaozu (618 – 626) and Taizong (626 – 649) of the Tang Dynasty, the palaces were in no lack of silk fabrics with patterns of paired pheasants, fighting goats, flying phoenixes and playing unicorns. All these originated from Master Dou and have been handed down since."

From the above it can be seen that the history of prevalence of Sassan patterns in China has been short – a matter of only two or three hundred years. But it is a proven fact that the widespread use of the patterns in the Orient has been long in history: the centres (Sassan Iran, Jedart, Western Region Oasis) of manufacture were comparatively near to one another so that their associations were close. That the Sasson patterns were highly artistic have been accepted and this was mentioned by the eminent the seventh century Tang Monk Tripitaka. Furthermore, the then Han people of China believed that bringing in such exotic patterns was in line with traditional concept and that it was also the continuation of the ancient traditions. There have also been similar phenomena in China's cultural history.

The book of *Yijing*, China's ancient philosophical and astronomical works, has also this to say: "There are phenomena in heaven, deciding auspiciousness and ominousness, and the sage divines them." Such a well-known saying, often quoted in Middles Ages China, contains a very significant feature of the world outlook of ancient and Middle Ages Chinese. From this it can be considered that there exists an abstruse association between heaven and earth and between heaven and humans. A slight divergence and there is reaction from heaven. Such a connection not only involves monarchs, but also concerns the various strata of the society, reaching its smallest unit—

family. Even the merits and demerits of the local officials would incur the reactions of the local heaven. Writes Nynd. Her: "Such a reaction against nature by spirit has some similarity with the history of Western ideology", but "the Chinese have pushed this theory to a higher level, and imbued it with a wide space never existent before. It is, in fact, a mechanical reaction and stylization of logical reasoning."

Such a concept has great impact on the development of Chinese art. Especially in its early phases and various fields, there existed, to different degrees, the reflection of this ideology. It can be said that the most conspicuous reflections were on the patterns of silk fabrics and brass mirrors. This is because that, by traditional conception, the brass mirror reflects a world in its miniature, the paintings on them symbolizing the auspiciousness of the world and the best of everything. Likewise, traditional apparel is also a symbol (model) of the world.

The choosing and deciding on a mascot has been fixed and limited. The choice of material can be seen on the stone reliefs in Wu Liang Ci (Memorial Temple, 2nd century), among which are imaginary and real animals: unicorns, dragons, phoenixes, white deer, white tigers, bears, and white fish. As for plants, there are fungus-glossy ganoderma and trees whose branches interlock or join together. And there are also the round flat jades, jade vessels, triangular banners, etc., all symbolizing imperial identity.

During the 3rd to 6th centuries - considered a complicated stage in the cultural history of the Northern and Southern Dynasties - talks about mascots had been most prevalent, and descriptions of the omens of auspiciousness was the most important chapters of the Song History. Sun Rouzhi (502 - 550) of the Liang Dynasty was the author of the book Auspicious Pictures, which is the earliest book on such a theme as far as is known. "Ruizhaonian" (Auspicious Age) became part and parcel of Taoism — a religion basically shaped at the time.

The 3rd and 4th centuries saw much turbulence in China, and yet it was a time when cultural interflows flourished. After the "crisis of Han society" (as Barajetz put it), the Chinese people devoured hungrily the new ideas and new ways brought in via the Silk Road or through sea transport. With the introduction into China of Buddhism, other infiltration into the Orient included various hues of influence from the west - Iran, Central Asia, eastern Mediterranean region and Byzantine - and which the Far Eastern people accepted. Excavations of recent years reveal those new patterns and decorative designs had already been widely popular and remained existent. Some of these failed to remain on Chinese soil for long, but there were also those which existed there for several centuries, and had become even more widespread.

According to Andrews and Stein, the commonly acknowledged Sassan loose patterns were in conflict with the continued decorative patterns of the Han nationality, but such an argument is in fact unfair, as what they referred to were the principal style - the Cloud Pattern. But as early as the beginning of the Christian era, there had already been widespread passing on of the loose patterns, e.g. the Noyinura's MP-1237 and Loulan's (SCIII.04). In the first centuries, circles also appeared in the patterns of Chinese fabrics, e.g. coin-shaped articles for warding off evils - round flat jade, brass mirrors, etc. In the Parmirs was found coin patterns on silk fabrics of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and the brass mirror-shaped patterns on silk fabrics of the 3rd century also came from the Pamirs. Up to the Tang Dynasty circular patterns and Sassan patterns had both been

done, e.g. the printed silk fabrics found in Dunhuang did carry such circular patterns, the time of the originals being 8-9th centuries. As for silk fabrics that bore the designs of a round and flat piece of jade with a hole in it, this can be proven in the poems of Emperor Jian Wen Di (371 - 372) of the Eestern Jin Dynasty and those of Emperor Wei Wen Di (220 - 226) of the Kingdom of Wei.

All these patterns fall into the category of "ruyi" - an S-shaped ornamental object made of jade as a symbol of good luck - which associated broadly with various good wishes. For instance, as coins reminded one of wealth, pictures of coins were seen in sculptures of the Han Dynasty. And then brass mirrors and flat-round jades symbolized the wisdom and benevolence of emperors and kings, while round mirrors signified harmony among everything on earth. From this, it can be logically surmised that the new-style patterns introduced into China via the Silk Road during the later years of the Six Dynasties can be favorably compared, in the eyes of the Chinese people, with auspicious articles such as the brass mirrors, flat-round jades and "ruyi".

Therefore, it can be said that Chinese art - first of all the art of patterns - from the 6th to 8th centuries underwent a complicated process of assimilating and reforming many kinds of foreign influence. With the bringing in of Buddhism and through its development, a great number of images of Buddha and symbolizing objects were introduced into this country from India. On the other hand, under the influence of Iranian culture, the so-called Sassan pattern merged with the traditional primitive philosophical concepts — principally Taoist — of the Chinese nation. This process reached it climax during the rule of Zhou Empress Ze Tian (690 - 705), when the Sassan patterns became the symbol of the ranks of the empire's officials. The book *Tang Hui Yao*, which chronicled the reforms of various systems of the Tang Dynasty, cited that the patterns most frequently used in the year 694 were paired deer, eagles, unicorns, tigers, vultures, oxen, lions, etc.

As far as the fixed designs and subject matters of the Sassan patterns are concerned, their themes and images underwent complicated changes of shapes during the three centuries and more since their entry into Chinese culture. Some themes which were widely popular in Sassan Iran and Sogdian failed nevertheless to perpetuate. To describe it more vividly, acceptance and rejection both prevailed in the course of the transplants. What were deleted were a head of the wild boar and an unnamed animal, while other images and compositions of pictures were successfully transplanted into the Chinese cultural soil, gained their new imagery significance and got popularized far and wide. Among these, there were specifically the lions, peacocks, pictures of hunting, and the Tree of Life. With their rebirth they took on new imagery importance, while the old meanings were forgotten or disappeared - in the case of lions, for instance. Beasts occupied a prominent position among the patterns of textiles and brass mirrors (especially mirrors with sea beasts and grape grains). But now it had lost its significance as a symbol of the sun and was close on the lion-saint symbolizing might, and together with the tiger, became a symbol of the West. But its majesticity was still being worshipped. During the Tang Dynasty, it was imbued with the quality of being able to drive away monsters and quelling devils.

In many cases, criss-crossing also existed. Not only in China but also in the Western world and Iran there existed overlapping of non-mutually-related images, such as the deer, goats, and birds with ribbons, which were widely passed down.

Similarly, the image of the deer had been widely passed down among the tribes in Iran since the time of the Saike, while worship of the deer also had a long history in China. In ancient Taoism the deer played a very important role and, much related with many an immortal, was considered capable of rendering longevity to humans.

The same was spoken of the goat. The pictures of the goat were often used as souvenirs in Iran, while in China, the goat (羊, pronounced yang) like the golden crow , was to represent the sun (陽, also pronounced yang, hence homophonic with goat) and was capable of warding off evils and therefore promising happiness and prosperity to the household, etc. Tang Dynasty Chinese considered the stately head ornaments the same as the auspicious silk ribbon attached to an official seal. This had played an important role in the patterns of the Tang Dynasty, as it signified longevity.

Aside from the above-mentioned pictures, the Sassan stringed-pearl patterns often borrowed the traditional images familiar to the Middle Age Chinese people - dragons, phoenixes, unicorns and tigers, to name only a few. The themes and stylistic features of the Sassan stringed-pearl patterns were many in number, but the most fundamental were still the phoenix and the deer, which accounted for roughly 1/4 of total Sassan patterns so far known to us. Some of the contents of the themes were easy to deduce, but still quite a few are pending explorations. For instance, Japanese scholars deduced a stringed-pearl picture of rhinoceros and the moon at Horyu Temple only recently.

As has been described above, the production of Sasson silk products found their heyday in the 7th and 8th centuries, and thenceforth the centre of gravity moved towards patterns of, chiefly, those of flowers. Bo. Gyllensvard has written an article describing this trend reflected in the gold and silver ornaments in the Tang Dynasty, and made comparisons and research into the materials found in Astana, Horyu Temple, and Dunhuang. Also, direct visual materials are available in the gradual decrease of Sassan patterns in textile designs. Among those in Chinese textiles, Sassan patterns accounted for not less than 1/4 of the total, those at Horyu Temple accounted for about 15%, and in Dunhuang this patterns of this type number not more than 10%. So far as we know, the ascertained latest date of silk fabrics with Sassan patterns was year 943 (Stein's collection CH0026). Thus, the early materials of Astana may serve to explain the finalization and early situation of this pattern. The late days of Astana artifacts and the collections at Horyu Temple manifest the prime days of Sassan string-jade pattern in the Tang Dynasty, while the collections in Dunhuang testify to its gradual disappearance.

Translated from the Russian text *by* Ji Yikun
Translated from the Chinese text *by* Huang Songlin

藝術品彩色圖版目録

List of Colour Plates of Art Relics

原书空白页

藝術品彩色圖版

Colour Plates of Art Relics

1. 大迦葉

北魏 伯120b窟(敦442窟)西龕CI.
泥塑彩繪 高91cm Д x 9

Maha-kasyapa
Northern Wei dynasty Cave P.120b (D.442) Niche CI.
Painted clay sculpture H.91cm Д x 9

2. 僧

北周 伯135窟(敦128窟)
泥塑彩繪 高60cm Д x 10

Monk
Northern Zhou dynasty Cave P.135 (D.128)
Painted clay sculpture H.60cm Д x 10

3. 菩薩

北周 伯135窟(敦128窟)
泥塑彩繪 高71cm Д x 7

Bodhisattva
Northern Zhou dynasty Cave P.135 (D.128)
Painted clay sculpture H.71cm Д x 7

4. 菩薩

隋 伯105a窟(敦253窟)
泥塑彩繪 高65cm Д x 8

Bodhisattva
Sui dynasty Cave P.105a (D. 253)
Painted clay sculpture H.65cm Д x 8



1.



2 僧 Monk



1 菩萨 Bodhisattva



41 菩薩側面 Bodhisattva side view



42 菩萨正面 Bodhisattva front view

5. **阿難**

宋 伯48窟(敦111窟)
泥塑彩繪 高69cm　　Д x 6

Ananda
Song dynasty　Cave P.48(D 111)
Painted clay sculpture　H.69cm　　Д x 6

6. **大迦葉**

宋 伯48窟(敦111窟)
泥塑彩繪 高69cm　　Д x 4

Maha-kasyapa
Song dynasty　Cave P.48 (D 111)
Painted clay sculpture　H.69cm　　Д x 4

7. **菩薩**

宋 伯48窟(敦111窟)
泥塑彩繪 高65cm　　Д x 5

Bodhisattva
Song dynasty　Cave P.48 (D.111)
Painted clay sculpture　H.65cm　　Д x 5



5.1 阿難 Ananda



6.1 大迦葉 Maha-kasyapa



[illegible] anda [illegible]





51. 菩萨正面　Bodhisattva　front view



72 菩萨背面 Bodhisattva (back view)

8. **苦修菩薩頭部**

北凉
泥塑彩繪 高21.5cm　　Д x 323

Head of the hard practicing Bodhisattva
Northern Liang dynasty
Painted clay sculpture　H.21.5cm　　Д x 323

9. **苦修菩薩頭部**

北魏 伯123a窟(敦437窟)
泥塑彩繪 高23.5cm　　Д x 324

Head of the hard practicing Bodhisattva
Northern Wei dynasty　Cave P.123a (D.437)
Painted clay sculpture　H.23.5cm　　Д x 324

10. **菩薩頭部**

北魏 伯124窟(敦435窟)
泥塑 高23.5cm　　Д x 355 (Ty745)

Head of Bodhisattva
Northern Wei dynasty　Cave P.124 (D.435)
Clay sculpture　H.23.5cm　　Д x 355 (Ty745)

11. **僧頭部**

隋以前
泥塑彩繪 高9cm Д x 12

Head of a monk
before the Sui dynasty
Painted clay sculpture　H 9cm Д x 12



8. 苦修菩薩頭部　Head of the hard practicing Bodhisattva



[illegible] Head of the [illegible]



[illegible]attva front view





10.2 菩[illegible]部側面　Head of Bodhisattva　side view



11.2 僧頭部側面　Head of a monk　side [illegible]

12. **菩薩頭部**

北周 伯129窟(敦296窟)

泥塑彩繪 高15.6cm Д x 354

Head of Bodhisattva

Northern Zhou dynasty Cave P 129(D.296)

Painted clay sculpture H.15.6cm Д x 354

13. **菩薩頭部**

隋以前

泥塑彩繪 高47cm Д x 14

Head of Bodhisattva

before the Sui dynasty

Painted clay sculpture H.47cm Д x 14

14. **菩薩頭部**

盛唐

泥塑彩繪 高37cm Д x 15

Head of Bodhisattva

High Tang dynasty

Painted clay sculpture H.37cm Д x 15

15. **供養菩薩頭部**

中唐 回鶻-吐蕃窟

泥塑彩繪 高16cm Д x 13

Head of the attendant Bodhisattva

Mid-Tang dynasty Cave Uighur-Tibetan

Painted clay sculpture H.16cm Д x 13

16. **供養僧頭部**

五代 伯54窟(敦103窟)

泥塑 高10cm Д x 11

Head of the attendant monk

Five Dynasties Cave P.54 (D.103)

Clay sculpture H.10cm Д x 11

17. **菩薩頭部**

泥塑彩繪 高19cm Д x 353(原編Ty743)

Head of Bodhisattva

Painted clay sculpture H.19cm Д x 353 (original No. Ty743)

18. **菩薩頭部**

泥塑彩繪 高12cm Д x 352(原編Ty725, B.2427)

Head of Bodhisattva

Painted clay sculpture H.12cm Д x 352 (original No. Ty725, B.2427)

19. **菩薩頭部**

約隋以前

泥塑 高14cm Д x 351(B.2428)

Head of Bodhisattva

before the Sui dynasty

Clay sculpture H.14cm Д x 351 (B.2428)

20. **武士**

木胎泥塑彩繪 總高18cm 頭高5cm Д x 38(P.B.2513)

Warrior

Painted clay sculpture

H.18cm the height of the head is 5cm Д x 38(P.B 2513)

21. **金剛頭部**

泥塑彩繪 高13cm Д x 356(Ty747)

Head of Vajra-pani

Painted clay sculpture H.13cm Д x 356(Ty747)



[illegible]



[illegible]面 Head of Bodhisattva side view



111 Head of Bodhisattva (side view)



113 [illegible] Head of [illegible]



14.1 [illegible] Head of Bodhisattva front view



14.3 [illegible] side view



14.3 菩薩頭部側面　Head of Bodhisattva　side view



15.1 供養菩薩頭部正面 Head of the attendant Bodhisattva front view



15.2 供養菩薩頭部側面 Attendant Bodhisattva head side view



16.1 供養僧頭部正面 Head of the attendant monk front view



16.2 供養僧頭部側面 Attendant monk head side view



17. 菩薩頭部 Head of Bodhisattva



18. 菩薩頭部 Head of Bodhisattva



19.1 菩薩頭部正面 Head of Bodhisattva front view



19.2 菩薩頭部側面 Head of Bodhisattva side view



20.1 武士側面　Warrior　side view



20.2 武士正面　Warrior　front view



21. 金剛頭部　Head of Vajra-pāni

22. 護法獸

唐(八世紀前半期) 伯139a窟(敦321窟)
泥塑彩繪 高90cm Д x 2

Beast as guard of laws
Tang dynasty (early 8th century A. D.) Cave P.139a (D.321)
Painted clay sculpture H.90cm Д x 2

23. 護法獸

唐(八世紀前半期) 伯139a窟(敦321窟)
泥塑彩繪 高90cm Д x 1

Beast as guard of laws
Tang dynasty (early 8th century A. D.) Cave P.139a (D.321)
Painted clay sculpture H.90cm Д x 1



22. 镇墓兽头部 Head of the beast as guard of tomb



22.2 護法獸（前） Beast as guard of laws (front view)



23.1 護法獸正面 Beast as guard of laws front view



23.2 [illegible] Beast as guard of laws side view



22.3 護法獸側面 Beast as guard of laws side view

24. 彌勒佛

北魏（五世紀）伯118窟(敦248-250窟)
泥塑彩繪 高21cm 寬16cm　Д x 200

Maitreya
Northern Wei dynasty (5th century A. D.)　Cave P 118(D.248-250)
Painted clay sculpture　H.21cm W.16cm　Д x 200

25. 彌勒菩薩

隋唐(六-七世紀)
泥塑彩繪 高33cm 寬13cm　Д x 199

Maitreya
Sui to Tang dynasty (6th-7th century A. D.)
Painted clay sculpture　H.33cm W.13cm　Д x 199

26. 佛背光

中唐(八世紀末九世紀初) 吐蕃窟
泥塑彩繪 高130cm 寬120cm Д x 3

Nimbus of Buddha
Mid-Tang dynasty (the end of the 8th century A.D. to the beginning of the 9th century A.D) Cave Tibetan
Painted clay sculpture　H.130cm W.120cm　Д x 3



24. 彌勒佛　Maitreya





26.1 [illegible] Niche of Buddha [illegible]



262 佛背光局部 Aureole of Buddha, detail



27. **佛（擦擦）**

約中唐 吐蕃窟

泥塑模印　　Дх 31、29、30

Buddha (tcha tcha)

about the Mid-Tang dynasty Cave Tibetan

Molded clay sculpture Дх 31、29、30

28. **佛（擦擦）**

約中唐 吐蕃窟

泥塑模印　　Дх 28、32、33、34、35

Buddha (tcha tcha)

about the Mid-Tang dynasty Cave Tibetan

Molded clay sculpture Дх 28、32、33、34、35

29. **頭像串珠**

中唐 吐蕃窟

泥塑彩繪　　Дх 19、20、21、22、24、25、26、27

Head-shaped beads

Mid-Tang dynasty Cave Tibetan

Painted clay sculpture Дх 19、20、21、22、24、25、26、27



27.1 佛 (擦擦) Buddha (tcha tcha)



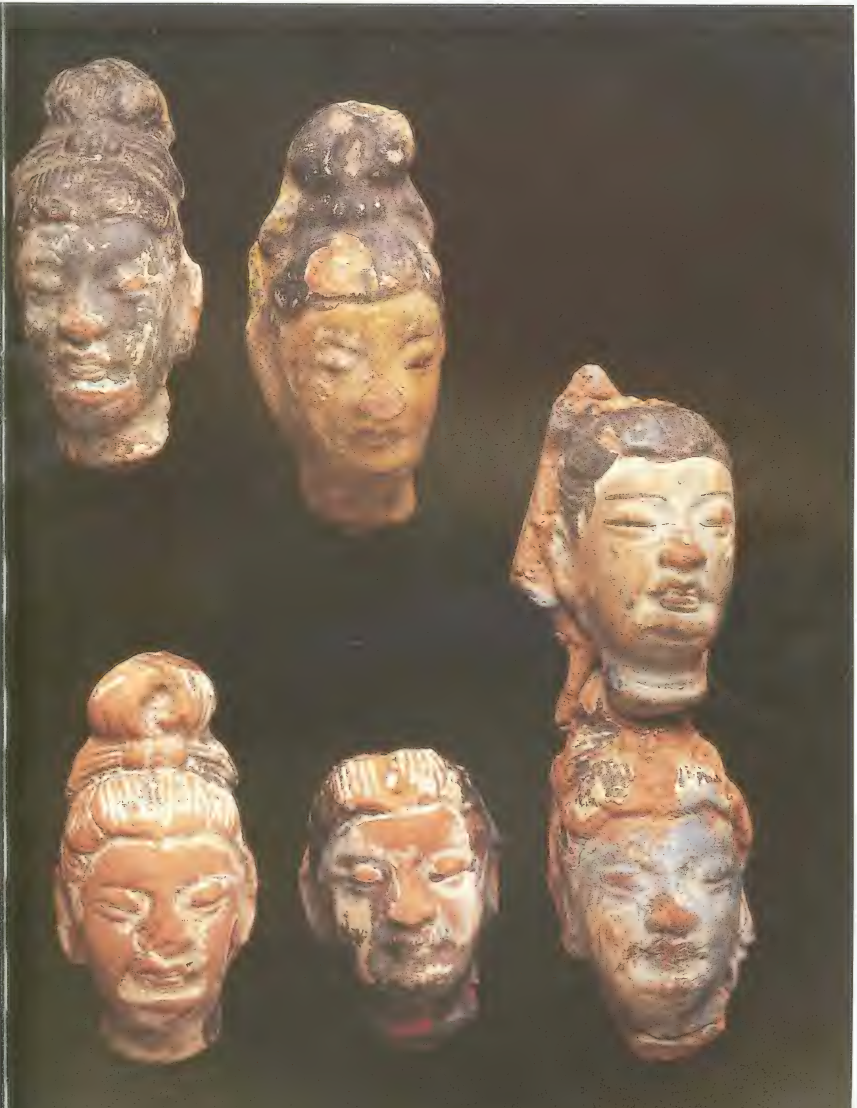
28.1 佛 (擦擦) Buddha (tcha tcha)



27.2–28.2 佛 (擦擦) 細部和文字 Buddha (tcha tcha) Tibetan characters and details



29. 頭像串珠 Head shaped beads



30. **伎樂天和帳幔**

北魏? 伯117bis窟(敦263窟)

壁畫　　高60cm 寬26cm　Д x 189

Vadya and canopy

Northern Wei dynasty? Cave P.117bis(D.263)

Fresco　H.60cm W.26cm　Д x 189

31. **千佛**

北魏

壁畫 高42cm 寬32cm　Д x 361

Thousand Buddhas

Northern Wei dynasty

Fresco　H.42cm W.32cm　Д x 361

32. **天宮伎樂**

北魏 伯117窟(敦263窟)

壁畫 高57cm 寬92cm　Д x 186、187

Vadya in Deva-pura

Northern Wei dynasty　Cave P.117(D.263)

Fresco　H.57cm W.92cm　Д x 186、187



30. 伎樂天和帳幔　Vadya and canopy



31. 千佛 Thousand Buddhas



32. 天宫伎楽 Vadya in Deva-pura

33. 伎樂天、千佛、供養人
北魏 伯117bis窟(敦263窟)
壁畫 高197cm 寬69.5cm Д x 196

Vadya, thousand Buddhas and donors
Northern Wei dynasty Cave P.117bis (D.263)
Fresco H.197cm W.69.5cm Д x 196

34. 睒子菩薩經變
隋 伯124c窟
壁畫 高17cm 寬144cm Д x 197、198

Illustration to the Syamaka Sutra
Sui dynasty Cave P.124c
Fresco H.17cm W.144cm Д x 197、198

35.伎樂天
隋 伯124a窟
壁畫 高18cm 寬40cm Д x 193

Vadya
Sui dynasty Cave P.124a
Fresco H.18cm W.40cm Д x 193

36. 佛弟子頭部
盛唐 伯120y窟(敦445窟)BI
壁畫 高60cm 寬44cm Д x 188、191

Head of a Buddhist disciple
High Tang dynasty Cave P.120y(D.445)BI
Fresco H.60cm W.44cm Д x 188、191

37. 阿彌陀佛净土變
初唐 伯108a窟
壁畫 Д x 192a.b.

Illustration to the Western Paradise of Amitabha
Early Tang dynasty Cave P.108a
Fresco Д x 192a.b.

38. 動物
壁畫 高5cm 寬6cm Д x 363

Ornamental animal design
Fresco H.5cm W.6cm Д x 363

39. 植物圖案
壁畫 高11cm 寬12cm Д x 364

Ornamental plant design
Fresco H.11cm W.12cm Д x 364

40. 武士胸像
壁畫 高10.5cm 寬5.5cm Д x 190

Bust of a warrior
Fresco H.10.5cm W.5.5cm Д x 190

41. 花卉
壁畫 高9.5cm 寬15cm Д x 359

Ornamental flower design
Fresco H.9.5cm W.15cm Д x 359

42. 植物圖案
壁畫 高7cm 寬15cm Д x 358

Ornamental plant design
Fresco H.7cm W.15cm Д x 358

43. 供養人
五代(十世紀) 伯117bis窟(敦263窟)
壁畫 高72.5cm 寬25cm Д x 195

Donors
Five Dynasties (10th century A. D.) Cave P.117bis (D.263)
Fresco H.72.5cm W.25cm Д x 195

44. 供養人
五代(10世紀) 伯117bis窟(敦263窟)
壁畫 高62.5cm 寬26.5cm Д x 194

Donors
Five Dynasties (10th century A. D.) Cave P.117bis (D.263)
Fresco H.62.5cm W.26.5cm Д x 194



37.1 伎樂天、千佛、供養人







33.4 伎樂天、千佛　Vādya and Thousand Buddhas



33.3 睒子[illegible]全圖　Illustration to the Śyamaka Sutra　full view



34.1 睒子菩薩經變左側局部 Illustration to the Śyamaka Sutra left



34.2 睒子菩薩經變中央局部 Illustration to the Śyamaka Sutra centre





35. 伎乐人 Vādya



36. 佛弟子头像 Head of a Buddhist disciple



37.1 阿弥陀佛净土变花卉 the flower in the Illustration to the Western Paradise of Amitabha



[illegible]2 阿弥陀佛净土变左侧局部 Illustration of the Western Paradise of Amitabha left



37.3 阿彌陀佛净上變全圖 Illustration to the Western Paradise of Amitābha full view



38. 動物 Ornamental animal design



39. 植物圖案 Ornamental plant design







40. 武士胸像 Bust of a warrior



41. 花卉 Ornamental flower design



42. 植物圖案 Ornamental plant design



113. 供養人 Donors


44. 供養人　Donors

45. 彌勒上生經變

盛唐(八世紀)
絹本彩繪　　Дх 224、15、223

Illustration to the Maitreya Sūtra
High Tang dynasty (8th century A. D.)
Silk painting　Дх 224、15、223



45.1 彌勒上生經變 Illustration to the Maitreya Sūtra



45.2 [illegible] Grazing scene



45.3 農耕圖 Ploughing scene



45.4 供養菩薩　Attendant Bodhisattva



45.5 供養菩薩　Attendant Bodhisattva



46 菩薩 Bodhisattva



[illegible] [illegible]菩薩　Lokapāla and Attendant Bodhisattva



65 脇侍菩薩　Attendant Bodhisattva



45.9 大迦叶 Mahā-kāśyapa



45.10 武士　Warrior



45.11 婆羅門　Brahmana



45.12 婆羅門拆毀七寶台 Brahmans Demolishing the Multi-treasure Building



Attendant Bodhisattvas





45.14 夜叉 Yaksa



5.15 女供養人 Female donors



46. 觀無量壽佛經變

盛唐

絹本彩繪 高189cm 寬35.5cm 邊寬13cm Д x 222

Illustration to the Amitāyur-Dhyana-Sūtra

High Tang dynasty

Silk painting H.189cm W.35.5cm the width of the margin is 13cm Д x 222

47. 彌勒上生經變

五代

絹本彩繪 高14.2cm 寬17.5cm Д x 273

Illustration to the Maitreya Sutra

Five Dynasties

Silk painting H.14.2cm W.17.5cm Д x 273



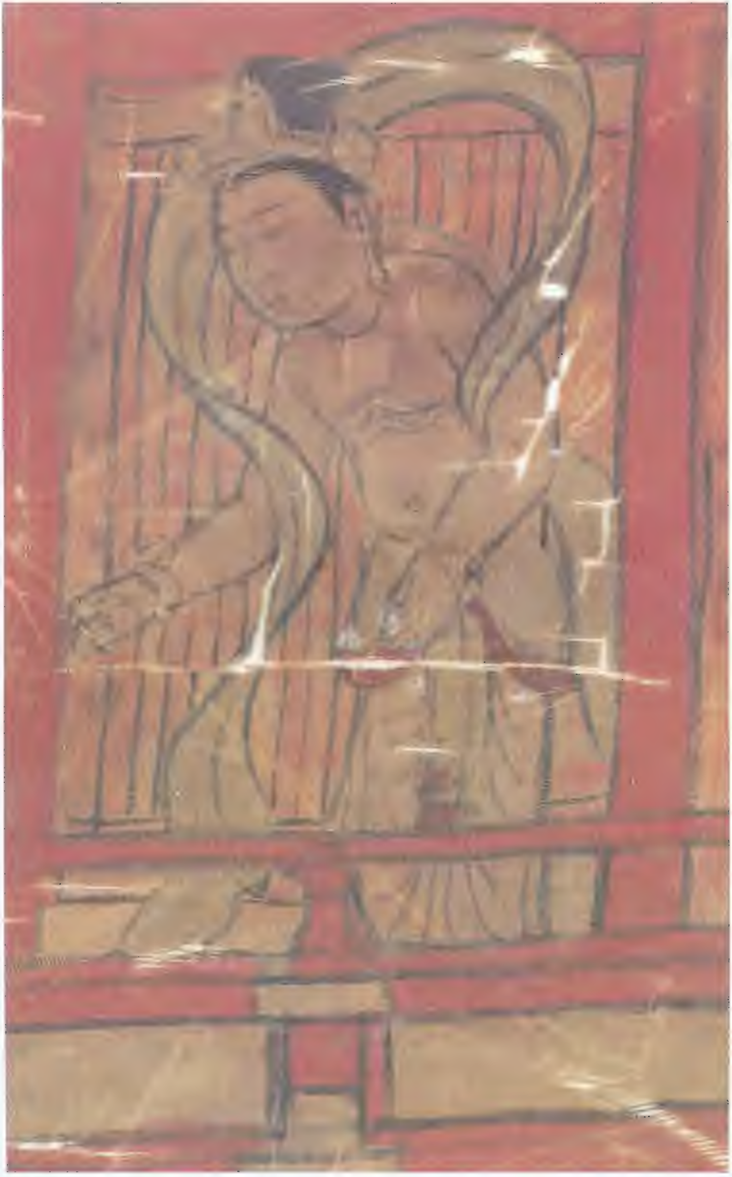
4-1 丽南人 2005







47.1 童子全圖　Kumāra　full view



48. **觀無量壽佛經變**

晚唐

絹本彩繪　　高139cm 寬88cm　Дx 316

Illustration to the Amitayur-Dhyana-Sutra

Late Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.139cm W.88cm　Дx 316







48.2 Amitayus central top

48.3 Wild geese playing in the pond central bottom







[illegible] Sixteen [illegible]



-8.5 未生怨 右方 Story of Ajātaśatru right



[illegible] Standing Buddha with attendant Bodhisattva [illegible]



[illegible]菩薩 右下方 Standing Buddha and attendant Bodhisattvas right [illegible]



下方 Donors



bottom



Standing Buddha right bottom

49. **經變畫化佛**

五代

絹本彩繪　　高51cm 寬31.5cm　Д x 271

Illustration to the Sadhya Buddhas

Five Dynasties

Silk painting　H.51cm W.31.5cm　Д x 271

50. **觀無量壽佛經變十惡之人**

盛唐

絹本彩繪　　高20cm 寬9.5cm　Д x 264

Villain in the Illustration to the Amitāyur-Dhyana-Sūtra

High Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.20cm W.9.5cm　Д x 264

51. **燒水圖**

晚唐

絹本彩繪　　高16cm 寬19cm　Д x 262

Heating up water scene

Late Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.16cm W.19cm　Д x 262

52. **佛像雲氣**

五代

絹本彩繪　　高12.5cm 寬16cm　Д x 272

Buddha and clouds

Five Dynasties

Silk painting　H.12.5cm W.16cm　Д x 272



49. 經變畫化佛 Illustration to the Sādhya Buddhas



50. 無量壽佛經變十惡之人 Villain in the Illustration to the Amitayur-Dhyāna-Sūtra



51. [illegible] Heating up water scene



52. [illegible] [illegible]

53. 千手千眼千鉢文殊師利菩薩

絹本彩繪　　高171cm 寬143cm Д x 205

Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed, Thousand-alms-bowled Mañjusri

Silk painting　H.171cm W.143cm　Д x 205



[illegible] Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed, Thousand-alms-bowled Mañjuśrī full view



left top



[illegible] right top



3.4 左中部 left centre



[illegible] right centre



中下部 left central bottom

53.7 文殊師利主像 中部 Mañjuśrī chief figure centre





Fig. [illegible] bottom



53.9 龍王 下部 Naga bottom



53.10 下部 bottom

54. 觀音菩薩

五代(十世紀後半期)
絹本彩繪　　高31cm 寬31cm　　Дx 232

Avalokiteśvara
Five Dynasties (the late period of the 10th century A. D.)
Silk painting　H.31cm W.31cm　　Дx 232

55. 藥師佛

盛唐
絹本彩繪　　Дx 256、257、258、259

Bhaisajyaguru
High Tang dynasty
Silk painting　Дx 256、257、258、259

56. 菩薩

中唐(八世紀末九世紀前半期)
絹本彩繪　　高23cm 寬14.5cm　　Дx 260

Bodhisattva
Mid-Tang dynasty (the end of the 8th century A. D. to the early period of the 9th century A. D.)
Silk painting　H.23cm W.14.5cm　　Дx 260

57. 菩薩

中唐
絹本彩繪　　高15.5cm 寬12.5cm　　Дx 261

Bodhisattvas
Mid-Tang dynasty
Silk painting　H.15.5cm W.12.5cm　　Дx 261

58. 阿彌陀佛和脅侍菩薩（西方三聖）

晚唐
絹本彩繪　　高16cm 寬19.5cm　　Дx 263

Amitabha and attendant Bodhisattvas (three sages of the Western Paradise)
Late Tang dynasty
Silk painting　H.16cm W.19.5cm　　Дx 263

59. 供養天女

盛唐
絹本彩繪　　高14cm 寬19.5cm　Дx 357(Дx 150、218)

Attendant Devakanyas
High Tang dynasty
Silk painting　H.14cm W.19.5cm　　Дx 357(Дx 150、218)



54. 观音菩萨 Avalokitešvara



53.1 藥師佛脅侍菩薩 Attendant Bodhisattvas of Bhaiṣajyaguru



55.2 Bodhisattva



Bust of Bodhisattva





58. 阿彌陀佛和脅侍菩薩（西方三聖） Amitabha and attendant Bodhisattvas (three sages of the Western Paradise)



59.1 供养天女 Attendant Devakanyas (full view)





60. **武士**

晚唐

絹本彩繪　　高13.5cm 寬29.5cm　　Д x 163

Warrior

Late Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.13.5cm W.29.5cm　　Д x 163

61. **供養天女**

五代

絹本彩繪　　高17.5cm 寬24.5cm　　Д x 165

Attendant Devakanya

Five Dynasties

Silk painting　H.17.5cm W.24.5cm　　Д x 165

62. **武士**

絹本彩繪　　高26.5cm 寬18.7cm　　Д x 133、315

Warriors

Silk painting　H.26.5cm W.18.7cm　　Д x 133、315

63. **武士**

絹本彩繪　　高13.5cm 寬12cm　　Д x 317

Warrior

Silk painting　H.13.5cm W.12cm　　Д x 317

64. **降魔變風吹魔女**

絹本彩繪　　高9.5cm 寬13cm　　Д x 321

Witches in the story of Mara-tarjana

Silk painting　H.9.5cm W.13cm　　Д x 321

65. **阿彌陀佛净土變**

素絹墨繪淡彩 高31cm 寬22cm　　Д x 130

Illustration to the Western Paradise of Amitabha

Uncolored silk painted in Chinese ink and light colors　H.31cm W.22cm　　Д x 130



66. [illegible] Vyasa



61.1 供[illegible]女 Attendant Devakanya



61.2 供养天女全图 Attendant Devakanya full view



62. 武士 Warrior



63. 武士　Warrior



64. 降魔變畫的魔女　Witches in the story of Mara-tarjana



65. 阿彌陀佛净土變 Illustration to the Western Paradise of Amitabha

66. **千手千眼觀音圖辟毒金剛蓮花座**

晩唐(九世紀前半)

絹本彩繪　高12.5cm 寛30.7cm　Ⅱ x 168

Lotus throne

Late Tang dynasty (the early period of the 9th century A. D.)

Silk painting　H.12.5cm W.30.7cm　Ⅱ x 168

67. **千手千眼觀音圖火頭金剛蓮花座**

晩唐(九世紀前半)

絹本彩繪　高18cm 寛32cm　Ⅱ x 266

Lotus throne

Late Tang dynasty (the early period of the 9th century A. D.)

Silk painting　H.18cm W.32cm　Ⅱ x 266



66.1-67.1 千手千眼觀音全圖 印度博物館藏斯坦因搜集品 CH.XXVIII.06.
Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara full view New Delhi. National Museum. CH.XXVIII.06.



66.2 千手千眼觀音圖部分金剛蓮花座 Lotus throne



67.2 千手千眼観音圖火頭金剛蓮花座 Lotus throne

68. **千手千眼觀音**

唐

絹本彩繪　　Дx 283、305、303、284、282

Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokitesvara

Tang dynasty

Silk painting　Дx 283、305、303、284、282

69. **化生童子**

絹本彩繪　　高8.5cm 寬3.5cm　Дx 140

Upapaduka Kumāra

Silk painting　H.8.5cm W.3.5cm　Дx 140

70. **化生童子**

五代

絹本彩繪　　高7.5cm 寬6cm　高6.5cm 寬2.4cm　Дx 345

Upapaduka Kumara

Silk painting　H.7.5cm W 6cm　H.6.5 W.2.4　Дx 345

71. **菩薩**

中唐

絹本彩繪　　高36cm 寬16.5cm　Дx 220

Bodhisattva

Mid-Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.36cm W.16.5cm　Дx 220

72. **菩薩**

中唐

絹本彩繪　　高30cm 寬17cm　Дx 221

Bodhisattva

Mid-Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.30cm W.17cm　Дx 221

73. **菩薩**

五代

絹本彩繪　　高20.6cm 寬13.3cm　Дx 216

Bodhisattva

Five Dynasties

Silk painting　H.20.6cm W.13.3cm　Дx 216

74. **菩薩**

中唐

絹本彩繪　　高13cm 寬10cm　Дx 228

Bodhisattva

Mid-Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.13cm W.10cm　Дx 228

75. **菩薩**

中唐

絹本彩繪　　高19.5cm 寬20.5cm　Дx 154

Bodhisattva

Mid-Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.19.5cm W.20.5cm　Дx 154

76. **佛弟子**

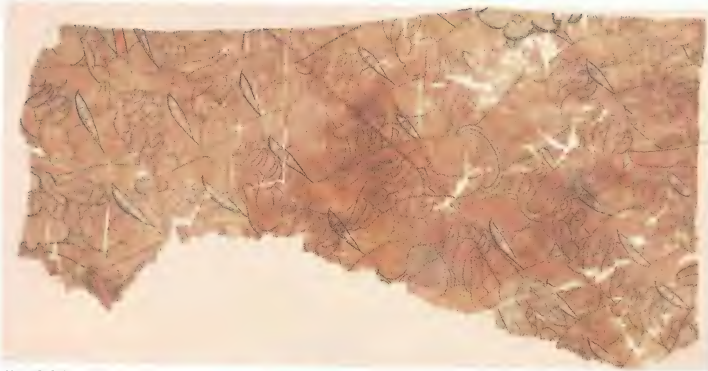
晚唐

絹本彩繪　　高10.5cm 寬17.5cm　Дx 229

Buddhist disciple

Late Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.10.5cm W.17.5cm　Дx 229



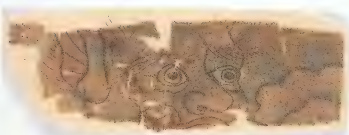
68.1 千手千眼 Thousand hands and thousand eyes



68.2 雷神 Thunder God



68.4 菩薩頭飾 Head ornaments of Bodhisattva



68.3 雷神 Thunder God



68.5 雷神 Thunder God



69. 化生童子 Upapaduka Kumāra



70. 化生童子 Upapaduka Kumara



Bodhisattva



71 菩薩 Bodhisattva



Bodhisattva



Bodhisattva


75. 菩薩　Bodhisattva


76. 佛弟子　Buddhist disciple

77. **彌勒佛**
中唐
絹本彩繪高64cm寬33cm Д x 225

Maitreya
Mid-Tang dynasty
Silk painting H.64cm W.33cm Д x 225

78. **菩薩**
中唐 159窟
絹本彩繪 高35cm 寬17.5cm Д x 227

Bodhisattva
Mid-Tang dynasty Cave 159
Silk painting H.35cm W.17.5cm Д x 227

79. **東方提頭賴吒天王**
晚唐(九世纪)
絹本彩繪 高24cm 寬17.5cm Д x 234

Dhṛtaraṣṭra
Late Tang dynasty (9th century A. D.)
Silk painting H.24cm W.17.5cm Д x 234

80. **菩薩**
晚唐
絹本彩繪 高35cm 寬14cm Д x 231

Bodhisattva
Late Tang dynasty
Silk painting H.35cm W.14cm Д x 231

81. **菩薩**
五代
絹本彩繪 高33cm 寬16.5cm Д x 230

Bodhisattva
Five Dynasties
Silk painting H.33cm W.16.5cm Д x 230

82. **菩薩**
晚唐
絹本彩繪 高35.5cm 寬17cm Д x 226

Bodhisattva
Late Tang dynasty
Silk painting H.35.5cm W.17cm Д x 226

83. **菩薩**
五代
絹本彩繪 高19.5cm 寬15cm Д x 183

Bodhisattva
Five Dynasties
Silk painting H.19.5cm W.15cm Д x 183



77. 彌勒佛　Maitreya



Bodhisattva



79. 東方提頭賴吒天王　Dhṛtaraṣṭra



80. 菩萨 Bodhisattva



81. 菩萨 Bodhisattva



83. 菩薩　Bodhisattva



82. 菩薩　Bodhisattva

84. **供養人**

晚唐

絹本彩繪　高38.5cm 寬60cm　Дx 164

Donors

Late Tang dynasty

Silk painting　H.38.5cm W.60cm　Дx 164

85. **供養人**

五代

絹本彩繪　高13cm 寬46cm　Дx 233

Donors

Five Dynasties

Silk painting　H.13cm W.46cm　Дx 233

86. **佛像項光火焰紋**

絹本彩繪　高13cm 寬21cm　Дx 179

Nimbus with the flame design

Silk painting　H.13cm W.21cm　Дx 179

87. **化生童子幡**

絹本彩繪　高26.8cm 寬14cm　Дx 270

Streamer with Upapaduka Kumara

Silk painting　H.26.8cm W.14cm　Дx 270

88. **菩薩**

五代

藍地絹本綫描 高114cm 寬26.5cm　Дx 58

Streamer with Bodhisattva

Five Dynasties

Blue silk with line drawing H.114cm W.26.5cm　Дx 58

89. **菩薩**

五代

藍地絹本銀泥綫描　高45cm 寬31cm　高20cm 寬31cm　Дx 59、115、39

Bodhisattva

Five Dynasties

Blue silk with silver line drawing H.45cm W.31cm　H.20cm W.31cm　Дx 59、115、39

90. **觀音菩薩像幡**

紅地絹本綫描 高48cm 寬37.5cm 幡面寬20.5cm　Дx 291

Streamer with Avalokiteśvara

Red silk with line drawing H.48cm W.37.5cm　the width of the streamer is 20.5cm　Дx 291



84. 供養人　Donors



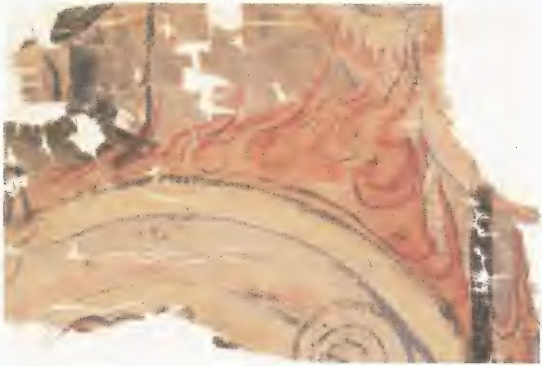
85. 供養人　Donors



85.2 男供养人 Donors



85.3 女供养人 Female donors



86. 佛像项光火焰纹　Nimbus with the flame



87. 化生童子幡　Streamer with Upapaduka Kumara



80.1 Temple Door of Bodhisattva



91. [illegible]



88.2 菩薩全圖　Bodhisattva　full view



89.2 菩薩全圖　Bodhisattva　full view



90. 觀音菩薩像幡 Streamer with Avalokiteśvara

91. **供養帳**

晚唐

麻布彩繪 高76cm 寬100cm Д x 73

Curtain for consecration

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.76cm W.100cm Д x 73

92. **供養帳**

晚唐

麻布彩繪 高96cm 寬127cm Д x 74

Curtain for consecration

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.96cm W.127cm Д x 74

93. **供養帳**

晚唐

麻布彩繪 高48cm 寬122cm Д x 99

Curtain for consecration

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.48cm W.122cm Д x 99

94. **供養帳**

五代

麻布彩繪 高28.5cm 寬48.5cm Д x 207

Curtain for consecration

Five Dynasties

Hemp painting H.28.5cm W.48.5cm Д x 207



Attendant Bodhisattva



?.2 [illegible]帳全景 Curtain for consecration [illegible]





91.3 [illegible] Incense burner and a man of great strength



92.1 [illegible]



92.2 [illegible] Wild goose



Curtain for consecration full view





[illegible] Curtain for consecration



[illegible] Curtain for consecration



95. 一佛二菩薩

五代-宋

麻布彩繪 高72cm 寬55.5cm Д x 75

A Buddha and two Bodhisattvas

Five Dynasties to Song dynasty

Hemp painting H.72cm W.55.5cm Д x 75

96. 一佛六菩薩

晚唐

麻布彩繪 高103cm 寬52cm Д x 97

A Buddha and six Bodhisattvas

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.103cm W.52cm Д x 97

97. 觀音菩薩

五代

麻布彩繪 高108cm 寬56cm Д x 76

Avalokitesvara

Five Dynasties

Hemp painting H.108cm W.56cm Д x 76

98. 觀音菩薩

五代(956年)

麻布彩繪 高142cm 寬65.5cm Д x 68

Avalokitesvara

Five Dynasties (A. D. 956)

Hemp painting H.142cm W.65.5cm Д x 68



93.1 一佛二菩薩像 A Buddha and Two Bodhisattvas (full view)



95.2 女供養人 Female donors



95.3 男供養人 Donors



...a and six Bodhisattv...





Samantabhadra (full view)









98.4 女供养人 Female donors

99. **觀音菩薩**

宋

麻布彩繪　高116cm 寬54cm　Д x 57

Avalokitesvara

Song dynasty

Hemp painting H.116cm W.54cm　Д x 57

100. **一佛二菩薩**

中唐

麻布彩繪　高120cm 寬70cm　Д x 211

A Buddha and tow Bodhisattvas

Mid Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.120cm W.70cm　Д x 211

101. **觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高166cm 寬52cm　Д x 79

Avalokitesvara

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.166cm W.52cm　Д x 79

102. **觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高170cm 寬60cm　Д x 95

Avalokitesvara

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.170cm W.60cm　Д x 95

103. **觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高116cm 寬54.5cm Д x 100

Avalokitesvara

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.116cm W.54.5cm　Д x 100

104. **觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高146cm 寬64.5cm Д x 210

Avalokitesvara

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting H.146cm W.64.5cm　Д x 210



观音菩萨上身 Avalokitesvara, upper figure



99.2 供養人　Donors


2571-68.



Avalokiteśvara full view



100. 一佛二菩薩 A Buddha and tow Bodhisattv



[illegible] 觀音菩薩 Avalokiteśvara



[illegible] 觀音菩薩 Avalokiteśvara





102.2 供養人 Donors



103. 觀音菩薩　Avalokitešvara



104. [illegible]　Avalokitešvara

105. **柳枝觀音菩薩**

唐

麻布彩繪　高162cm 寬58cm　Д x 81

Avalokitesvara holding osier

Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.162cm W.58cm　Д x 81

106. **柳枝觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高155cm 寬56cm　Д x 93

Avalokitesvara holding osier

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.155cm W.56cm　Д x 93

107. **柳枝觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高177cm 寬56cm　Д x 94

Avalokitesvara holding osier

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.177cm W.56cm　Д x 94

108. **觀音菩薩**

五代

麻布彩繪　高153cm 寬50.5cm　Д x 96

Avalokitesvara

Five Dynasties

Hemp painting　H.153cm W.50.5cm　Д x 96

109. **柳枝觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高162cm 寬53cm　Д x 78

Avalokitesvara holding osier

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.162cm W.53cm　Д x 78

110. **觀音菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　高157cm 寬54cm　Д x 83

Avalokitesvara

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.157cm W.54cm　Д x 83

111. **普賢菩薩**

晚唐

麻布彩繪　183cm 寬56cm　Д x 80

Samantabhadra

Late Tang dynasty

Hemp painting　H.183cm W.56cm　Д x 80



105.1 柳枝觀音菩薩 Avalokiteśvara holding osier



105.2 柳枝觀音菩薩手部 Hand of Avalokiteśvara holding osier



105.3 柳枝觀音菩薩手部 Hand of Avalokitesvara holding osier



106. 柳枝観音菩薩　Avalokitesvara holding osier



107. 柳枝觀音菩薩　Avalokiteśvara holding osier



[illegible] Avalokiteśvara



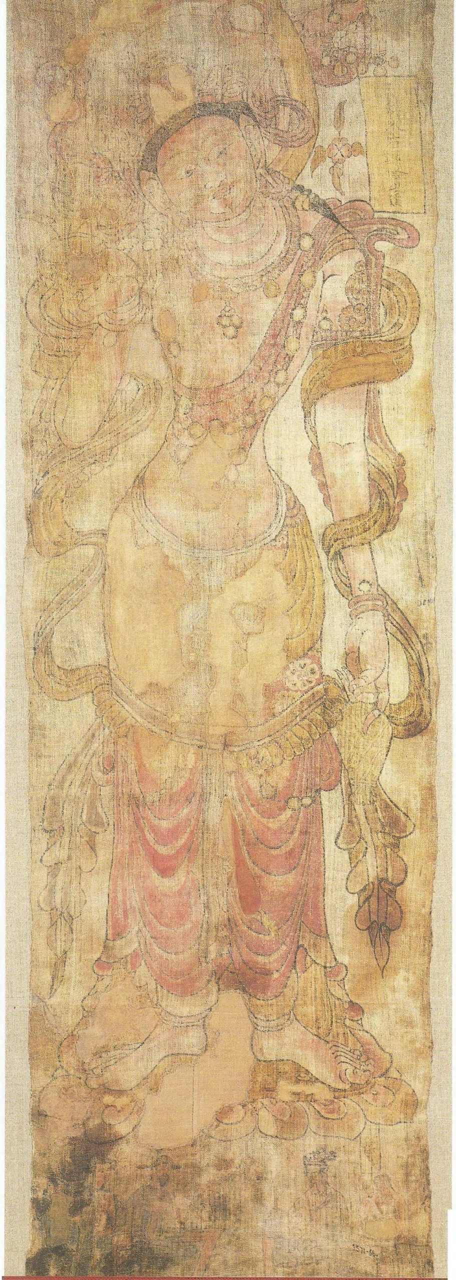
109.1 柳枝觀音菩薩全圖 Avalokitesvara holding osier full view



109.2 柳枝觀音菩薩胸像　Bust of Avalokiteśvara holding osier



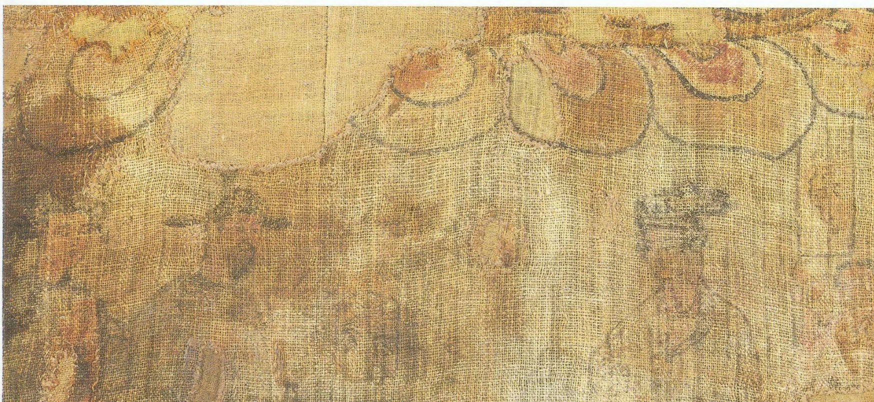
110. 柳枝觀音菩薩　Avalokiteśvara holding osier



111.1 普賢菩薩全圖
Samantabhadra full view



111.2 普賢菩薩胸像 Bust of Samantabhadra



111.3 供養人　Donors